



THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

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**Gerard Baldwin Brown:
Edinburgh and the Preservation Movement
(1880-1930).**

Malcolm Ashton Cooper

**Volume II
Appendices**

**A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

**University of Edinburgh
2015**

Appendix I.

Monographs by Gerard Baldwin Brown

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Appendix II.

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Appendix III.

Organisational Involvement.

Organisation	Role	Date
Cap and Gown Society	Council	1889-(?)
Classical Association of Scotland	President	1922-1925
Cockburn Association	Subscriber Council Convenor	1894-1932 1898-1929 1913-1920
Edinburgh Architectural Association	Vice President President Management Committee	1886-1888 1888-1890 1902-?
Edinburgh Citizens' and Ratepayers Union	Executive Committee	1902
Edinburgh School Board	Committee	1885
Edinburgh Social Union	Executive Committee	1888-1898
Egyptian Research Students Association	Chair/President	1911-1913
Franco-Scottish Society	Committee Publications Committee	1896-1899; 1901-1907 1920-1924 1896-?1907
Historical Association of Scotland – Edinburgh and South East Branch	Committee member	1912-?1932
Moubray House Trust	Trustee	1910-1912
National Trust	Council member	1896-1932
Old Edinburgh Club	Council member	1908-09; 1916-19 1921-23; 1931-32
Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland	Commissioner	1908-1931
Scottish Arts Club	Member President	1888-1932 1895-99
Scottish Home Industries Association	Hon Secretary	1891
Scottish Modern Arts Association	Council member	1911-1912
Scottish War Memorials Advisory Committee	Committee	1919-1921
Society of Antiquaries of Scotland	Fellow Council member Foreign Correspondent	1884 1903-1906; 1909-1913 1913-1932
Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies	Council member	1915-1918
Victoria County History	Architectural Committee	1899-1932
Other memberships:		
British Academy	Fellow	1924
Edinburgh Art Congress	Committee	1889-1897
Finnish Archaeological Society	Hon member	(?)
Hellenic Studies Society	Founder member	1880-1929
Oriel College, Oxford	Honorary Fellow	1923
Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland	Associate	?-1932
Royal Scottish Academy	Honorary Fellow Professor of Ancient History	1911-1932 1911-1932
Royal Institute of British Architects	Hon Associate	1887
Scottish Ecclesiological Society	Fellow	1923
Yorkshire Philosophical Society	Hon member	(?)

Appendix IV.

Letters to the Press by Gerard Baldwin Brown and other texts

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08.11.1884	The Watson-Gordon Chair of Fine Art	Scotsman
08.11.1884	The Chair of Fine Art	Scotsman
22.01.1886	Letter to H. Blanc re Edinburgh Castle	unpubl.
11.03.1886.	Rembrandt	Scotsman
14.04.1886	New Municipal Buildings	Scotsman
02.11.1886	Professor Baldwin Brown on the New Municipal Buildings	Scotsman
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24.03.1887	The Lord Provost and the New Municipal Buildings	Scotsman
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04.10.1890	Railway Schemes v. Urban Amenity	Scotsman
14.10.1890	The Scottish National Gallery	Scotsman
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06.07.1898	The Usher Hall Site	Scotsman
05.07.1899	The Mid-Lothian County Buildings	Scotsman
07.07.1899	The Midlothian County Buildings	Cockburn
17.10.1899	The Proposed Restoration of the Cathedral at Iona	Times
04.06.1900	The Proposed Restoration of Iona Cathedral	Scotsman
10.01.1903	The Queensferry Tramway	Scotsman
23.05.1903	Restoration at Iona	Scotsman
26.05.1903	Iona	Scotsman
27.05.1903	Iona	Scotsman
07.11.1903	Plans for the Usher Hall	Scotsman
08.01.1904	Usher Hall Plans	Scotsman
19.05.1904	The Preservation of Berwick Town Walls	Berwick J
14.07.1904	Old Edinburgh: The Secrets of its Charm	Scotsman
15.07.1904	Old Edinburgh	Scotsman
17.08.1904	The Care of Historical Cities at Home	Scotsman
19.08.1904	The Care of Historical Cities Abroad	Scotsman
01.11.1904	The German Movement for the Protection of Historical Cities	Times
27.12.1904	Threatened Destruction of Ancient Monuments	Times
05.01.1905	The Carnegie Trust and Dunfermline	Guardian
28.02.1905	The Synod Hall, Protest Against Demolition (extract)	Scotsman
28.02.1905	Penrith Town Hall Scheme	Penrith Obs.
11.07.1905	Marton Church and Saxon Architecture	Times
07.09.1905	A Lincolnshire Church and Saxon Architecture	Times
16.02.1906	Civic Aesthetics	Scotsman
26.02.1906	The Rokeby Velasquez	Scotsman
02.03.1906	The Care of Ancient Monuments	TLS
14.06.1906	Edinburgh Town Council and Ancient Structures	Scotsman
16.10.1906	The Proposed Restoration of the Chapel Royal, Holyrood	Scotsman
28.01.1907	Overhead Traction in Edinburgh	Scotsman
08.02.1907	Restoration of Holyrood Abbey Church	Scotsman
01.03.1907	The Call to the Rev. John Kelman	Scotsman
16.11.1907	Civic Control in Matters Aesthetic: What is Done Abroad	Scotsman
15.02.1908	Proposed Alterations in Waterloo Place	Scotsman
25.02.1908	Mr Harcourt and Edinburgh Architectural Association and Holyrood	Scotsman
29.02.1908	Holyrood Chapel Restoration	Scotsman
16.03.1908	The Protection of Ancient Buildings	Scotsman

23.03.1908	The Royal Scottish Museum	Scotsman
01.11.1909	The Dean Bridge	Scotsman
21.02.1910	Blackford Hill and the Braid Burn Bridge	Scotsman
20.05.1910	Alterations in Atholl Crescent	Scotsman
13.07.1910	St Magnus Cathedral. Kirkwall	Scotsman
09.08.1910	Vandalism at Coldharbour	Times
01.12.1910	A Historic House in Edinburgh	Times
25.01.1911	The Surrounding of Holyrood	Scotsman
06.02.1911	The Approach to Holyrood	Scotsman
12.06.1911	Charlotte Square	Scotsman
14.10.1911	The Tattershall Vandalism	Scotsman
21.10.1912	The Care of Ancient Monuments in Scotland	Scotsman
17.03.1913	Proposed Erections in Princes St Gardens	Scotsman
10.05.1913	The Proposed Staircase at the Mound	Scotsman
28.10.1913	Prehistoric Cairns as Road Material	Times
12.12.1913	Proposed Winter Garden	Scotsman
05.01.1914	Proposed Winter Garden for Edinburgh	Scotsman
17.01.1914	The Repair of Ancient Buildings	JRIBA
16.07.1914	Renaming of Ancient Streets	Scotsman
15.09.1914	German Members of the Edinburgh University Staff	Scotsman
23.09.1914	The Destruction at Reims	Scotsman
17.10.1914	British Marines Interned in Holland	Scotsman
01.12.1914	Commercial Exploitation of the War	Scotsman
22.02.1915	Murrayfield House	Scotsman
02.12.1916	The German Levy en Masse	Times
02.01.1917	Do the Citizens Realise the Tramway Position?	Scotsman
13.04.1917	Breadstuffs misused	Times
21.04.1917	The Policy of Reprisals	Scotsman
28.02.1919	Scottish National War Memorial	Scotsman
12.01.1920	Old Edinburgh Houses	Scotsman
30.01.1920	The Painter as Extremist	Scotsman
16.08.1920	Edinburgh Castle and its Buildings	Scotsman
15.10.1920	Town Planning and the Waters of Leith	Scotsman
23.11.1920	A Corpus of Runic Inscriptions	Scotsman
17.12.1920	Bewcastle Cross	Times
26.01.1921	An Ancient Monument in Danger	Guardian
10.09.1921	Palaeolithic Art	Scotsman
24.10.1921	Architecture and Electric Wires	Scotsman
24.10.1921	Art and Electric Wires	Times
04.01.1922	University Buildings under Blackford Hill	Scotsman
07.03.1922	Street Disfigurement	Scotsman
24.07.1922	Edinburgh Castle as War Memorial	Scotsman
15.08.1922	Art and the Nation	Times
23.10.1922	The Princes Street Tramway Change	Scotsman
14.12.1922	The Proposed Scottish War Memorial	Scotsman

14.12.1922	Professor Baldwin Brown on Civic Aesthetics	Scotsman
23.12.1922	The Castle from Princes Street	Scotsman
05.05.1923	The Royal Institution Buildings in Princess Street	Scotsman
28.01.1924	Scottish War Memorials	Scotsman
02.02.1925	The Proposed New Cowgate Bridge	Scotsman
24.04.1925	Restoration of the Parthenon	Times
13.01.1926	Mounting of Greek Plays	Times
05.06.1926*	Fate of Waterloo Bridge (GBB signatory)	Times
18.09.1926	Engineering and Art	Times
02.10.1926	Use of Ornament	Times
06.10.1926	Monuments in Princes St Gardens	Scotsman
02.03.1927	South Side Terracing	Scotsman
08.03.1927	Princes St - South Side Terracing	Scotsman
10.03.1927	The Built-Up Recess in the Ghiza Tomb	Scotsman
21.07.1927	The Completion of the War Memorial	Scotsman
28.09.1927	St Benedict's, Lincoln	Times
29.11.1927	The New Coins	Times
12.01.1928	The Wallace and Bruce Statues	Scotsman
25.07.1928	Robert Adam. Work in Edinburgh	Times
18.12.1928	Amenity of Princes St	Scotsman
12.01.1929	Questions of Amenity	Scotsman
13.09.1929	The Wayside in Germany. Systematic Protection	Times
18.10.1929	Door into a New World	Scotsman
26.03.1930	Sculptor's Vale	Scotsman
28.07.1930	The Calton Crag Site	Scotsman
16.08.1930	Menace to Durham Cathedral	Scotsman
01.05.1931	Jedburgh Antiquities	Scotsman

Letters and Articles in *The Architect*.

01.11.1884	Architecture in the University Of Edinburgh
29.11.1884	The Study Of Architectural History
27.12.1884	Semper and The Development Theory
24.01.1885	Semper and Semperism
18.04.1885	Classical Archaeology

Abbreviations:

Berwick J.	Berwick Journal
CEC	City of Edinburgh Council
Cockburn	Cockburn Association
EEN	Edinburgh Evening News
JRIBA	Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects
Penrith Obs.	Penrith Observer

(* text not included)

Scotsman, 18 December 1883.

THE CASTLE BUILDINGS.

Sir,—All who value aright the beauty and the historical associations of Edinburgh owe a debt of gratitude to Lord Napier and Ettrick for calling attention to the condition of the old portions of the Castle buildings. It is evident to any who have been privileged through the kindness of those in charge to explore some of the oldest parts of the structures, that much exists of very great architectural and antiquarian interest, and it is greatly to be hoped that Major Gore Booth will make public the results of the careful and scientific examination which he has carried out of the Great Hall of the Castle, with the other older structures about it. The restoration of these buildings to something like their original condition is an object which it is worth making every effort to accomplish, and the difficulties in the way ought not to prove insuperable. Government will, of course, not move unless in response to a general and strongly expressed public desire. And this is a matter which concerns all classes of the community. It will naturally first be looked at from the military point of view. The provision of proper hospital accommodation elsewhere, and the future destination of the Great Hall, if ever it becomes a Great Hall again, are questions which would, of course, receive the first consideration. But the public at large has also an interest in the matter. Edinburgh Castle is one of the prides of Scotland, and a building of European fame. It is closely bound up with the national history, and possesses, besides, architectural beauties which need only the hand of a careful restorer, backed by the needful funds, to bring them again to the light of day. Cannot the public bodies of Edinburgh, antiquarian, historical, artistic, make their influence felt by passing resolutions urging the matter on the favourable consideration of Government. If the Town Council, overzealous in good works, will take the lead, the Society of Antiquaries, the Royal Scottish Academy, the Cockburn Society, the Architectural Association, with other bodies, would provide a powerful weight of public opinion sufficient to start the movement. The result would be to provide for the use of the garrison a noble hall, and perhaps other fine apartments, now divided up and put to casual uses, and to afford to the people of Edinburgh an additional reason for being proud of their city, and, I may add, an additional ground for taking care in the future lest any more architectural blemishes are allowed to mar the picturesque effect of her streets.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown

Scotsman, 9 April 1884.

THE RESTORATION OF THE GREAT HALL IN THE CASTLE.

Edinburgh University, April 5, 1884.

Sir,—The public opinion of Edinburgh, through the agency of its Town Council and its artistic and antiquarian societies, has expressed itself strongly on this matter, and satisfactory rumours reach us to the effect that it is occupying the serious attention of the authorities.

My object in troubling you with this communication is to offer one or two remarks—first, as to the probably age and architectural character of the building; and, secondly, as to its restoration.

The controversy as to the origin of the building which will doubtless be raised when it comes to be seriously taken in hand, will partly turn on the question of whether the “Aula” and the “Magna Camera” of the records of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are to be considered the same structure, and identical with the present military hospital. I write on this matter under correction, but I would suggest that the two are not the same.

The first mention of the “Aula de Edynburgh” occurs in the Exchequer Rolls of 1375 (vol. II., p. 472), at a period when there are constant entries relating to the “Turris castri” or “Turris porte castri de Edynburgh,” known generally as David’s Tower, and called by that name in records of 1448 (vol. V., p.311).

The “Magna Camera” appears first in the rolls of 1434, when its “fabrica” is mentioned, while its roofing with lead was paid for in 1438 (vols. IV., p. 579 and V., p. 66.)

Can this be the same as the Aula which was roofed in 1375?

Is it not more likely that the “Magna Camera” was the lodging of the king, and distinct from the public hall? Such a lodging must have existed for the accommodation of the widowed Queen of James I., with her son, when she took refuge in the Castle after the murder of the King; and in this case it would be in the “Magna Camera” that the youthful head of James II. reposed on that “feather mattress and pillow” which were sent in for him (vol. V., p. 26), and placed probably on the “king’s gret bed in the gret chamir,” mentioned in the treasurer’s accounts of 1496 (Treas. Acc., Vol I., p. 319.)

The words “aula” and “camera” occur again and again in the records of the time, always with reference to different structures; and it is more reasonable to suppose that “magna” simply refers to the special size of the King’s chamber in Edinburgh, than that “camera” is used as equivalent to “aula.”

For example, in 1459 payment is made “preedificatione”—“Unius aule et duarum camerarum in Glenfynglask;” (vol. VI., p. 579)—“unius aule camera coquina, &c., in Lochfruchy;” (Ibid)—“diversarum domorum, videlicet, aule camerarum coquina brasine, &c., at Faucland;” (vol. VI., p. 565)—at Inverness (p.483), pro obstruccionem murorum aule et camera castri cum luto;” while at p.415 we read of four windows, “pauni linei late tele ad aulam et cameram regine,” in the castle of Stirling. The quaint entries in the treasurer’s accounts confirm this view. Thus, in 1497 (Treas. Acc. Vol. I. p 338)—“Pait Falconer, wricht,” goes from Dunbar to Edinburgh “to tak the mesure of the ruf of the Kingis chamir to mak Dunbar sic lik;” while in connection with the same work, “Wat Merlioune” is paid for the pending (arching) of the hall” (p. 342.) Finally, the “tua lorkis, ane for the hall dur, aue

for the chamir dure in the castel, to kepe the gere” (p.282), and the already quoted mention of the “Kingis gret bed in the gret chamir” (p. 319), seem to settle the question.

The most interesting early mention of the “Aula Castri de Edynburgh” is in connection with the expenditure in 1458, “in ferro panno lineo pro fenestris et aliis apparamentis ibidem factis orga parliamentum.” and proves the meeting of the Scottish Parliament in the building at this early date. Toward the end of the century spars had to be brought from Leith “to be proppis to the Hal of the Castel of Edinburgh,” which must have been sadly out of repair.

The date or dates of the existing structure it would be difficult to fix, owing to the absence of any marked character of the masonry, which might belong as well to the fourteenth century as to any later century. The only carving to be seen—that on the corbels of the roof—is certainly advanced Renaissance work of the sixteenth century, and may be coeval with the woodwork above, but is doubtless of much later date than the walls.

Of the roof itself, nothing much can be said from the aesthetic point of view. As it has come down to us it is in poor construction, and wanting entirely in the curved lines which give such beauty to the splendid old roof at Darnaway Castle, and which are to be seen nearer home in the ancient oak roof now rotting away in neglect in the curious building close to Linlithgow Station. When the dormer windows are removed, and the whole carefully surveyed, it may be found possible largely to improve it by the restoration of missing portions.

[*text unreadable*] ...interesting features of the roof at Darnaway, the sculptors would have a field for their efforts; but the chief form of decoration employed should be mural paintings. The subject of these, I would humbly urge, should not be of the ponderous historical type, such as “Knox Conferring in the Great Hall with Grange and Letherington,” “Charles I, holding his Coronation Banquet,” “Argyle feasting Cromwell,” or even “Bruce Addressing his Soldiers before Bannockburn.” Anything more truly inartistic than the vast majority of modern mural paintings of similar themes cannot be imagined. Subjects as suitable, and far more poetical, might be found in the legends and ballads of Scotland, which offer themes of inexhaustible beauty and interest. Inspired by the ballad literature of their country, by Burns, and by Sir Walter Scott, our artists might throw upon the walls the spell of a romantic past, and achieve results which might make the restoration of Edinburgh Castle Hall the starting-point in a new development of the national art. With, let us say, carved heads of Scottish Kings introduced at the beam ends of the roof, with the arms of some of the chief families famed in our history emblazoned on the already existing shields and, pictured on the walls, some of the noble and graceful creations of the Scottish muse, we should have a building of which we could indeed be proud, and for the completion of which the public would willingly contribute its share.

Apologising for the length of this letter,

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown

The Scotsman, 8 November 1884.

THE WATSON-GORDON CHAIR OF FINE ART.

University of Edinburgh, November 7, 1884.

Sir,—The leading article in your issue of November 6 on the studies at the University prompts me to ask your kind permission to say a few words in your columns on the subject of the Chair of Fine Art.

Your remark that some studies have to struggle with misconceptions of their nature applies forcibly to that represented by my Chair, as to the scope of which ideas were at first (and probably in some quarters still remain) exceedingly vague. There ought, however, to be some definite place in a University like ours for a study like that of a art and archaeology, which is being pursued elsewhere with such vigour and in so thoroughly a scientific spirit. The words quoted by you from Lord Rosebery's address at Aberdeen, on the study of history as a department of Humanity, are especially appropriate to the case, for there is no study which is in the best sense more humanising than that of the history of the arts, which at various epochs have called forth so much of the best activities of men, and which record so large a part of their aspirations and ideals. The idea that such a study should form part of a regular University course is a new one in this country, though in Germany it is an accomplished and familiar fact. Scottish Universities have, happily for themselves, no classrooms for dilettante general audiences, and all teaching carried on within their walls should have a recognised place, however small, in a serious curriculum. Whether an Executive Commission would be disposed to give this particular branch of historical study any such place it is impossible to say; but I write these lines in the hope that the subject may not be entirely overlooked through the pressure of larger interests. At present all that can be done is for the holder of this Chair to address himself to supply, as well as he is able, any demand for teaching in his subject that may arise. Such a demand seems to be showing itself in respect to the teaching of architectural history, a course on which I am just commencing, in the hope that it may add something of value to the limited facilities available for study at present afforded to the young architect in Britain. It cannot be satisfactory, however, for a Chair to address itself solely to an outside audience, and short courses on classical art and on Biblical, early Christian and medieval art, the first of which I am attempting this session, may be found a useful practical supplement to the study of Greek and Humanity and of Church History in the Arts and Theological curricula.

In conclusion, if I appear in this unduly to "magnify my office," I may shelter myself behind the sentence in your article:—"It is only by the enthusiasm of its devotees that any science, or any branch of knowledge, whether it be a science in the strict sense or not, can be advanced."

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown

The Scotsman, 8 November 1884.

CHAIR OF FINE ART

Professor Baldwin Brown on the Place of Architecture Among the Fine Arts

In opening, yesterday afternoon, the Class of Fine Art in the University, Professor Baldwin commenced a course of lectures on the history of architecture, with a discussion of the "Place of Architecture among the Fine Arts." After premising that it was with the aesthetic as distinguished from the technical side of the art that he had to do, the Professor went on to remark that the study of architectural history was of the very highest moment to the architect, though it might not give him the practical knowledge for carrying on his daily work. The relation of past to present was much closer in architecture than in painting and sculpture; the traditions followed by the builders of old times had a more living interest for their successors than the traditions of monumental painting and sculpture for the exhibitors in our Academies. In many cases the old styles of building were still in use, and their obvious fitness made it unlikely they would be superseded by forms entirely new; in other cases, though the forms might have passed out of use, the style in which they were handled was a source of never-failing instruction and interest. Greek, Roman, and Romanesque buildings showed features suitable to modern requirements; and the value of accurate historical knowledge of times nearer our own and of the course of architecture in our own country need not be dwelt upon. The architecture of Scotland, ecclesiastical and secular, had never received the treatment it merited, and a work dealing with her old buildings in a comprehensive spirit, and with due regard to the style of work of similar structures in other lands, might go far to raise the reputation of architecture in this country as a learned profession. Proceeding to speak of architecture as one of the arts of form, the Professor said the relation between it and sculpture and painting would seem at first sight to be somewhat as follows. The latter were imitative arts, and were closely related to nature; the former was not imitative. Sculpture and painting charmed by recalling the beautiful scenes and shapes of nature; and it might be asked, what could the architect have to offer, with his lines and angles and masses, that could match in interest the imitative arts? Further, it might be said that the former were, in their rudest forms, arts of expression; while the latter began by providing for shelter and defence, and was throughout bound down by considerations of utility. To the first of these views it might be answered that architecture was in a certain sense, like sculpture and painting, an imitative art; to the second, that architecture must, as an art, be distinguished from mere building, and did not begin in mere utility, but was from the first, like sculpture and painting, an art of expression; while the considerations of use, which formed an important element in architectural design, so far from lowering the rank of the art, contributed greatly to the total artistic impression produced. Dealing with the question of the beginnings of

architecture, the Professor remarked that, as a fine art, it only began when the need for shelter and defence was past, when the necessities of life ceased to cry out for satisfaction, and man had leisure to turn his attention to what was beyond and above himself. So soon as this was attained, the primitive man found himself in an atmosphere of religion; religion demanded as a condition of its proper exercise the festival, and it was in the festival that man for the first time felt himself free, released for a moment from the contest for existence, and able to exercise the higher feelings of his nature. It was then, and not till then, that architecture had its beginning. There grew up a corporate feeling in a people; it might be a common religious sentiment or one of national pride – it mattered not. This corporate sentiment went hand in hand with technical advance; the constructive and ideal elements in architecture were set in motion together, and the result was a new architectural development. After illustrating the close connection between architecture and national life, and showing how that art took sculpture and painting under her care and nursed them to maturity, the Professor went on to discuss the particular form of artistic expression belonging to architecture as contrasted with the sister arts. To the varied aspects of nature, he said, there was a corresponding art of form. Sculpture dealt with the human form and that of the higher animals; painting, with the whole face of nature; and architecture with what was sublime and beautiful in the larger aspects of the material universe. The shapes of buildings did not directly copy natural objects, and the pleasure we derived from them did not depend on our recognition of such copying; but architecture would not have the powerful aesthetic effect upon us that it produced were there not some relation between its forms and those of nature. In the course of his illustration of this point, the Professor submitted that the effect was produced by the artistic handling of the particular forms employed. All, he said, were familiar with the view of the municipal buildings of Edinburgh from the north. It was impossible to conceive a finer situation for buildings, or associations more interesting than those which would naturally gather round a worthy structure erected on that spot. There never was a nobler theme for an architect; yet the theme was either never given to the architect or was not taken up by him. He (the Professor) knew nothing of the circumstances in which those particular buildings were erected; but from what happened in some cases in this country, he should surmise that the difficulty was the usual one of money. Our rational inability to spend money in any but the narrowest parochial spirit probably ruined those buildings, as it had ruined Mr Street's magnificent Law Courts in London, and as it was doing its best to ruin – so some thought – the fabric of the British Empire. At any rate the fact remains that the buildings which towered over Cockburn Street were a mere dead mass of stone, which had lost the picturesque irregularity of nature, and had gained absolutely nothing from art. There was a certain greatness in mere bulk; but this only brought out the fact that size alone, without the artistic treatment of it, did not rise to the height of true grandeur. By way of contrast reference was made to the tomb of Theodoric at Ravenna, as having, though quite a small building, the true spirit of

architectural sublimity. The Professor went on to speak of composition in architecture, and of delicacy and grace in the designing of its ornament, included with a rapid recapitulation of the positions he had laid down.

Private Letter to H. Blanc. 22 January 1886 (NLS/ms1734. f135).

27 January 1886. University of Edinburgh

Dear Mr Blanc

I am much obliged to you for letting me see the plans of your proposed restorations in Edinburgh Castle. If the suggestions you have made for the carrying out of Mr William Nelson's good work are allowed to have effect, I feel confident that the result will be in every way most satisfactory.

I am not sufficiently acquainted with the authorities for the restoration of a building like the Argyle Tower, to criticise your plan from the archaeological point of view, but about its good architectural style, its picturesque effect, and the addition which its carrying out would make to the enjoyment of visitors to the castle, there can be but one opinion.

As regards the chapel, a restoration so scholarly and so conservative must, I should imagine, commend itself to all judges.

Everyone who has examined with interest the old buildings of the castle, must have regretted to see how the original features of their architecture have been marred or ruined by later hands and [that] a work of restoration as there is now in prospect is most sorely needed.

I remain

Yours very faithfully

G Baldwin Brown

Scotsman March 11, 1886.

REMBRANDT.

University of Edinburgh, March 10.

Sir,—Had your correspondent, Mr John Forbes White, honoured me with his presence at my lecture on Rembrandt the other evening, he would doubtless have found therein matter with which he would have disagreed. He would not, however, have written a large part of the letter which appears in your issue of to-day, for many of his criticisms deal with points in connection with which your reporter did not exactly match my words.

I was disposed, when I first read his letter, to regret that I had not asked you kindly to permit me to correct the report of my lecture. But the fact is, that my knowledge of the value of your space, and my reluctance to appear to claim too much importance to my informal conversation at the Scottish Atelier, withheld my pen; and I am not now sorry for my silence, since it has enabled me to make acquaintance, if only in print, with so accomplished a lover of art as your correspondent.

I may perhaps be permitted to make the following few remarks. I had no intention of “passing over in a slighting tone” the labours of the great foreign critics at whose feet I sit, when I expressed my opinion that their efforts to connect Rembrandt’s art with that of his predecessors were more ingenious than convincing. Everyone who studies the critics of the modern school must be aware what a stress is laid on the often obscure connections between successive artists. Very much has in this way been gained for the history of art, and I have at times inflicted the results upon my students with some minuteness. It is possible, however, to go too far in this direction, and I have not been able to satisfy myself that the work of, E.G.Elsheimer or Lastman had anything really to do with the character of that of Rembrandt. Points of connection between Rembrandt and previous artists can of course be found, but they touch so little the essentials of his art that they are not, in my opinion, worth mentioning in such a broad general view of Rembrandt’s artistic activity as I was endeavouring to give in my lecture. For example, the manner in which the pigment is laid on in jewel like touches in the “Simeon” at the Hague reminds one of Elsheimer’s dainty handling, and some of Peter Lastman’s compositions bear a certain resemblance in arrangement to Rembrandt’s early figure pieces: but my point is that all this has nothing to do with making Rembrandt or two years. He was made by his particular individual mode of regarding nature, and by a correspondingly individual technical treatment, of which I hope to speak next Saturday. Nothing of this was given to him, so far as I can see, by his Masters: nor can I see in him a successor of the great portraitists of Holland who preceded him – Van Thierevelt, Van Ravesteijja, De Keijser, or even Frans Hals. These men were all great likeness-makers, though to the strong, quiet delineation of the three former Hals added his own characteristic “handwriting” which gives his works their unique position. Rembrandt is not at first a delineator, but a profound student of effects of light and shade; and this quality, as I venture to maintain in opposition to Mr White, he exhibits from the very first. Of the “St Paul in Prison,” of 1627, Dr Bode writes (Studien, p.366):- “So ist der Künstler in diesem ganz eigenartig, gaaz er selbst.” The “Simeon” of 1631, about the close of his Leiden period (Bode) is one of the most pronounced of all his paintings for his characteristics searching

into shadows to bring out from their depths the effects of subdued reflected light, in which he always took pleasure.

The story of study in the family mill I told without expressing belief in its literal truth, and proceeded to save that at any rate effects of interior lighting were his earliest study. The story itself is “exploded,” so far as it related to the supposed birth of the artist in a mill: but as regards study there in it cannot well be “exploded,” for there was the mill, and why should not the boy have studied therein? We cannot, indeed, enter the Van Rijn mill, for its place is now occupied by a modern public building; but the opportunity was afforded a year or two ago, at the International Exhibition at Amsterdam for the study of Dutch seventeenth century interiors in excellent reproductions, and I was particularly struck with the Rembrandesque effect of the light entering through the small openings and losing itself in the dim interiors. The inside of a mill would add effects of its own, due to the presence of white objects; and if the young Rembrandt did not study these, he was not the boy I take him for. In any case, Mr White makes a mistake if he believes that I content myself with “antiquated gossip” on questions of art history.

As regards the periods of Rembrandt’s life as an artist, which have become somewhat mixed in the report, I divided them as follows:-the “Lesson in Anatomy” I made to conclude the first period, as the breadth and suavity of the representation seemed to ... the attainment of perfect mastery after the...And experiments of youth. The second or...period I terminated with the “Sortie,”... The year of his wife’s death. The landscapes I assigned to the period after his ...loss, not after his financial catastrophe. I stated that the years after 1650 were years of Rembrandt’s financial troubles, and connected these with the troubles of his elder contemporary, France Hals, which we read of at the same epoch - with the commercial depression of the period, and with the reaction in favour of the Italian style, of which there is abundant evidence in the quotations from the Dutch literature of the latter half of the seventeenth century given by Vermeer.

Your correspondent asks, “what about Koninck.” I may answer, What about a score of other painters of Holland, some of whom, like the Konincks, were disciples of the master, while others worked in independence of him?

I have endeavoured to describe and illustrate the art of these minor painters of the school in my regular course and would do so again if I saw any prospect of the subject attracting an audience. Last Saturday, when I had the pleasure of addressing a goodly gathering of practical students, I made no attempt to deal with the Dutch school as a whole. For my own part, I think the large Ph. Koninck, in the Peel Collection at the National Gallery in London, is as fine a landscape as any in the Dutch school, a few Rembrandts, like the Cassel masterpiece, only excepted.

I may say, in conclusion, that I trust my mind is fully open to receive modifications of my views about Rembrandt or any other great artist. Such men are not to be fully grasped or described in a moment, and there will always be room for friendly discussion on these subjects.-

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, April 14, 1886.

NEW MUNICIPAL BUILDINGS.

University of Edinburgh, April 13.

Sir, — The project of new municipal buildings is one in which all citizens of Edinburgh must take the warmest interest, and as the Municipal Council seems disposed to invite the opinion of the public on the scheme, you will, perhaps, kindly afford space for the following remarks from an outside standpoint: —

The question is, first of all, one of site. There seems some inclination to allure the civic authorities away from their present local habitation to the New Town by the attraction of a new public hall. For a public hall, our want of which has been for so long a time complained of, the present site affords no accommodation; but is it necessary that the hall should be in local connection with the various municipal offices? If these offices remain where they are, a site for a hall might surely be found elsewhere. Putting the hall out of the question for the moment, one can hardly imagine the Town Council exchanging their present imposing sight in the midst of the associations of old Edinburgh for a situation in the “West End.” It must be remembered that we have not one New Town, but two. There are large and increasing suburbs on the south as well as on the north and west, and the present public buildings of the Old Town — St Giles’, the Parliament House, the Royal Exchange — are conveniently situated midway between them. Should the new municipal buildings attach themselves to the skirts of fashion on the one side, the inhabitants of the southern suburbs would probably have something to say on the matter.

Leaving the question of change of site, and coming to the present buildings, there is one thing which should be from the first clearly understood. When the Royal Exchange was erected, Princes’ Street and the New Town had no existence. The back of the structure was turned towards the open fields. Hence all that was required from the architect was a frontage to the High Street, the satisfactory character of which was referred to yesterday by the Lord Provost. The existence of Princes’ Street alters the whole matter. Now that the view of the picturesque and varied buildings along the ridge of the Old Town, as seen from that splendid terrace, is generally held to be one of the very finest city views in the whole world, the back of the municipal buildings becomes, for architectural effect, their principal facade. Of that facade as it stands at present that the truth be stated without reserve. It has some elements of architectural effect. It is solidly built of excellent material, it has colossal height and Brett, and above all it has the advantage of one of the most commanding situations ever crowned by a public edifice. But it does not follow from this that it is a piece of architecture. It is merely building without any composition or balancing of masses, any lines, or any qualities either of symmetry or of picturesqueness. Architecture is not the incrustation of a building with ornament (to borrow the expression of one of your recent correspondents), it has, strictly speaking, nothing to do with ornament at all, for how much has ornament to do with the effect of St Paul’s from Blackfriars’ Bridge? The architect deals with masses, and when he has composed these with true artistic taste, the essential part of his work is done, whatever treatment may be reserved for the details. Of architecture the back of the present buildings is totally devoid, and its gaunt, unbroken bulk is a distinct eyesore in the midst of so much that is artistically pleasing.

Now, one can imagine a fairly good architectural effect produced without demolishing the general mass of the present back wall. Let us suppose one wing boldly thrown out to break the monotony of the structure, and the present roof, the really abominable part of the edifice, replaced by a composition of gables and chimneys such as that which crowns a similar plain facade with such beautiful effect in the old buildings behind the Free Assembly Hall; let us suppose added what should be one of the most important features of the new buildings, grand flights of steps giving access from the Princes' Street side, and forming with their terraces a fitting pedestal for the whole mass; and we have elements out of which an architect of taste might produce a good result. Or we may imagine something far better—a new North front altogether, giving to the buildings that artistic completeness, that imposing grandeur, of which the site and the occasion are alike worthy. If the city is prepared to take the opportunity now offered, it may set its architects a task which will inspire them to prove that they can compete on equal terms with the masters of bygone days. A more honourable work was never set to members of the profession than the preparation of plans for buildings which shall grace and not disfigure one of the finest sites in one of the finest cities of Europe.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, November 2nd 1886.

PROFESSOR BALDWIN BROWN ON THE NEW MUNICIPAL BUILDINGS.

University of Edinburgh, November 1.

Sir,—When an artist gets part of his picture into a “fog,” it is sometimes better to take up the razor and, scraping the whole passage away, to paint it anew. If something like this could be done in the matter of the new Municipal Buildings, it would be of no small advantage. The whole question needs, apparently, to be faced afresh with spirit and determination. Regard must, of course, be paid to those gentlemen who have been prepared to come forward and help the city with designs for the new structure, and who have been engaged for some time upon drawings made in accordance with certain conditions intimated some months ago. It now appears that these conditions have been materially changed within the last few days, and for the moment the work of the competing architects has practically been brought to a standstill. This being the case, would it not be a satisfaction to every one if the whole question were taken up anew in a somewhat larger spirit than that in which it seems hitherto to have been treated? Those architects who have already done work for which they should be suitably compensated, would not consider themselves badly treated if a new task were offered to them of more importance than the somewhat meagre one with which they have hitherto been entrusted. So far as one can judge from your own remarks on the subject, and by the various letters which have appeared in your columns, the one desire on the part of the citizens at large is to have a thoroughly good building, or group of buildings, which shall be an honour to the city for centuries to come. There seems no disposition to complain of the necessary expenditure involved; and this being the feeling abroad, why should not the work be carried through, on a large and generous scale? I venture to say this, because there are signs of a desire for half measures on the part of the present managers of the undertaking. One instance is the unfortunate condition reserving to the Council the right to entrust the carrying out of plans to other hands than those of the successful designer. To say the least of it, this condition falls grievously below the dignity of the situation. It is not pleasant to hear it said that this looks like a desire to buy the brains of the foreigner, and then to deprive him of the credit and satisfaction of carrying out his own work. It is certain that the Town Council cannot have any such desire, but the “saving clause” is just an example of the half measures which one would like to see avoided. Let the competition be either one thing or the other. If it is open, let it be open to the world; and let the successful architect, where ever he comes from, be secured in his undoubted right to superintend the carrying out of his own plans, with the assurance of local support loyally given. If the competition is restricted, let the limits of the restriction be clearly understood. Another instance of what appears to suggest “half measures” concerns the present back wall of the Municipal Buildings. The endeavour to preserve this could only be justified if the question of cost were felt to be a very pressing one, and this is evidently not the case. Anyone possessed of common intelligence can see that the retention of this wall would greatly cripple an architect in his attempt to do justice to the magnificent site at his command. If all that the city is prepared to do is to provide an extension of office accommodation, then the wall may be preserved; but even then it would have to be extensively pulled about, and part of it at any rate must come down if any architectural effect is to be secured in the altered structure. It

seems clear, however, from the present state of public feeling that much more than this is contemplated, and it admits of no question that no really satisfactory result can be arrived at unless the architect has a free hand in dealing with the site.

With regard, then, to this question of the site. In your leader of this morning you do not consider it settled, and it would be a pity if an irrevocable decision were arrived at without fullest consideration. The balance of opinion seems decidedly in favour of at any rate the neighbourhood of the present locality of the buildings. To move the buildings to the West End would be a calamity to Edinburgh. We cannot move St Giles' or the Parliament House, which form with them, and with other civic buildings, a cluster of important public edifices in the real heart of the city, and in the midst of all its historic associations. To break up this group of buildings would be to inflict a serious blow on the most important and interesting part of the city. The particular spot to be chosen in this central locality, however, is a matter which has to be considered from many sides. From the artistic point of view, the present site has, I venture to urge, not a little advantage over that recently suggested at the corner of Bank Street. The ground between the Lawnmarket, Bank Street, and the Mound is already occupied by buildings which, in the mass, are good examples of characteristic Edinburgh houses-not of the oldest date-and it would be a pity to disturb them. Again, taking the view from Princes' Street as being the one chiefly to be considered from the artistic standpoint, one may say that the architectural effect of this particular point of the ridge of the Old Town is fully provided for by the imposing Bank of Scotland, and the Free Church College, with the Assembly Hall spire in the background. On the other hand, from St Giles' eastward to the Canongate there is little to break the masses of houses clustering on the ridge. Here a grand public building, occupying the site of the present municipal offices, would supply a needed element to the general architectural effect. Working on such a site, the architect would have more freedom than if his design had to be in relation to an already existing public building of repute, like the Bank of Scotland. In itself, as has often been pointed out, the present site is a grand one, which it would be hard to match either in this or in any other town. If more ground is needed, either for municipal offices or for a town hall-if, as may be hoped, this can be included in the scheme-is it impossible to provide it here by the same means that would have to be employed if the Bank Street site, or any other site now occupied by houses were decided on?

May I be allowed to suggest, in conclusion, that it would be a graceful act if the Town Council should see fit to invite a small number of universally respected citizens of high standing, acquainted through long familiarity with the needs of Edinburgh, and with the views of their fellow townsmen, to act with the Council or with a committee of the Council in dealing with this most important subject? The matter in question is one which concerns not the Town Council alone but the whole Edinburgh community; and not the present generation, but also generations to come, whose interests we have in charge. It is a matter on which we need publicity and the free expression of opinion, and, above all, the practical aid of leading citizens, both within and without the municipal body. What may be the fate of this suggestion for forming a Municipal Buildings Committee, on which when the time came a professional assessor might, if desired, be invited to serve, I may express the hope, which I am sure all will share, that this weighty and difficult question will be dealt with in an open spirit, and with that pluck and hardihood without which great undertakings cannot succeed. I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown

The Scotsman, February 23, 1887.

PROFESSOR BALDWIN BROWN AND THE PLANS OF THE MUNICIPAL BUILDINGS.

University of Edinburgh, February 19.

Sir, —The plans for the new Municipal Buildings have been on view long enough for the public to have become acquainted with the main characteristics of those out of which the selection (if selection there is to be) will have to be made. If I ask if you will kindly allow me to say a few words on the matter, it is not with the intention of pressing forward any particular opinion but rather of assisting the consideration of the subject from the artistic side, by bringing into prominence one or two questions upon which those who have at heart the beauty and dignity of the city will have to make up their minds.

In the first place, there may be some doubt as to how far such questions are to be held as settled by the professional award. It may be useful if it is here pointed out that no finality is claimed by the assessor for his report or the awards. For example, he expresses the gravest doubts whether it would be advisable to introduce the commanding feature of a tower or a dome; but he assigns the two first premiums to designs showing in the one case a composition of domes, and in the other a handsome campanile. Again, he explains that in apportioning the awards he has given great weight to technical considerations, which leave untouched the general character of designs. I apprehend, also, that a professional assessor is not constrained to criticise the style of a design, in relation to its surroundings so narrowly, as those are bound to do who have in their minds the whole architectural effect of the central portion of the city.

In the second place, it may be said that the Town Council, which has to use the buildings, is the best judge of the sort of buildings required. This plea by no means relieves the public of responsibility. This undertaking, if it comes to be practically carried out, will be one of capital importance to the whole community. It ought to result in a work of art which would be a fresh jewel in the crown of Edinburgh; and if it should happen (which there is no need to expect) that the Town Council should desire, on the ground of internal convenience, a building of poor exterior or one unsuited to the locality, then it would be the duty of the public to express their dissent from the project in the most practical manner possible. As a means of avoiding the possibility of any such collision, I may be allowed here to repeat the suggestion I took occasion to make some months ago, to the effect that the members of the Town Council should be cautious in trusting solely to their own judgement, and should invite the assistance, let us say, of one or two members of the Royal Scottish Academy and the Society of Antiquaries, to go over the plans with them and to put before them the views of men accustomed to deal in a semi-professional way with questions of taste and of artistic and historical fitness.

Assuming, then, that the expression of well-considered opinion on the part of the public is both legitimate and called for, it may be of advantage if one or two principal points of an artistic kind are kept clearly in view.

There have to be considered (1) the south front in its relation to St Giles', and to the general character of the High Street; (2) the treatment of the building from the Cockburn Street side; (3) the introduction of domes, towers, or similar features, with especial reference to the view of the steeple of St Giles' from Princes' Street.

(1.) The High Street with its extensions preserves with singular continuity, from Holyrood to the Castle, a distinct architectural effect. Its lofty houses, crowned by their picturesque gables, presenting so varied a skyline, form, perhaps, the most characteristic architectural feature of the city. The continuity thus gained is rudely broken at one point by the new Carruber's Close Mission House, the introduction of which, with its Grecian columns, in close proximity to John Knox's house, is generally recognised as the greatest artistic blunder committed in the city for years past. Are we going to repeat this performance with another exaggerated piece of classicism immediately opposite St Giles'? It is true that there is no need to carry this feeling for continuity too far. Monotony, though not so bad as discord, is to be avoided, and I am not wishing to protest against such modifications of the classical style as we find, for example, in the facade of "Nineteenth Century" with its broken masses and varied detail, or even in the severer but singularly noble front of the fine design labelled "Ora et Labora," or in the main elevation of "Edina Classica," which needs no praise in this place. Most people, however, with the general architecture of the High Street in their mind, will probably much prefer for the situation the Scottish Baronial or French Renaissance style, with its high roofs and gables, as shown in the two separate designs marked "in my defence," and in the conspicuously complete and pleasing south front of "Heart of Midlothian." Be this as it may, I think that there cannot be two opinions about the utter unsuitability of the extremely "severe," not to say rigid and lifeless, classical facade of "Light and Air" for this situation. Surely it would be in marked discord with its surroundings, and hence (even if in itself of high quality) quite out of the question. As a matter of fact, the facade in itself is likely to receive some pretty severe criticism. There are two kinds of simplicity – the simplicity of conscious strength, and the simplicity of weakness; and I must say that the latter is the appearance it seems to present. One would not quarrel so much with the main elevation of the south front, always excepting the very commonplace ornament; and if built of marble, or material beautiful in itself, it might pass muster well enough. It is the attic story, and above all the square central pavilion, that strike the eye as weak and wanting in architectural character, which, again, is certainly not imparted by the vapid embellishment in the form of a huge flagstaff and banner. If set up, that facade in the position assigned to it would be an artistic sin, which it may be hoped the city will not think of committing.

(2.) The question of the treatment of the building from Cockburn Street carries with it that of the internal disposition of the masses. Many of the competitors have arranged their buildings round a central quadrangle. This is in itself unexceptionable, but it is essential that the court be spacious, and treated with something of the fine feeling for style shown in the noble quadrangle of the old University buildings. Courts which, with the high buildings around them, would be little better than wells or trenches, are not elements of artistic effect. In order to give sufficient space for fine quadrangle the competitors who adopt this feature have two carry the block opposite the main entrance back to the northern limit of the site, where it would form a towering mass overlooking Cockburn Street. Many lofty unbroken northern facades are shown in the competition, but it is doubtful if any would be acceptable. There are

objections to the use of the dome which, if well founded, would exclude that of “Edina Classica,” while “Ora et Labora” shows a fine upper elevation, to generating below into something resembling a prison, suggesting that municipal offenders may be languishing in dungeons, while the fathers of the city sit in judgement above. Another competitor of much merit, “Fortuna,” tries to get variety by the artificial device of different systems of rustication, while one may doubt whether the arm thrust out by “Light and Air” towards Princes’ Street is not too long and lean for monumental dignity. The Cockburn Street front in the Scottish Baronial style of “Heart of Midlothian” seems more suited to a private house than an elevation of colossal size. Perhaps the (non-premiated) “In my defence” is most successful in the point under consideration. His tower contrasts well by the simplicity of its lower part with the rest of the facade, and though by placing it on the lowest part of the site he sacrifices height, it forms a good finish and buttress to what is, artistically viewed, the most important corner of his building.

Such being the case with the Cockburn Street elevations, special attention should be given to the scheme of those architects who have surrendered the large internal quadrangle, and obtain in return the advantage that they are able to break up their building into lower and upper masses, rising one above the other in a manner correspondent to the natural slope of the ground. This is done to some extent in the premiated design “In my defence,” and more boldly in that marked “Heriot,” and it occurs also in other designs of merit. There is, no doubt, much to be said for this scheme. It follows the hints of nature, which the best architects have always been quick to take; it secures a broken and picturesque north aspect to the buildings generally which is suitable to their position and surroundings, and it would emphasise the height of the ridge along which runs the High Street.

3. In respect of the sky-line, a dome seems quite inadmissible in such close proximity to St Giles’, the general form of whose beautiful steeple it would repeat with heavier masses, while the dome is already well represented on the Bank of Scotland not far away. On the other hand, a picturesque and graceful campanile, especially when, as in the case of “Nineteenth Century” and “Ora et Labora,” it occupies the corner of the site furthest from St Giles’, would certainly do no harm. Architectural features, when designed in harmony, are far from hurting each other by their proximity. Wren’s steeples in London look best when grouped together. Again, while we have plenty of domes and spires in Edinburgh, we have not a single really pleasing campanile, and there is thus afforded to our architects an excellent opportunity for showing what they can do in this purely artistic part of their work.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that in considering relative cost the variation in scales of estimate should in fairness to the designers be taken into account, and some common measure arrived at before comparison. A monumental work of this kind cannot be carried out for nothing; neither patchwork nor a cutting off of artistic features because they increase the cost will be satisfactory. If we are to have municipal buildings worthy of Edinburgh, the ratepayers must be prepared to give a proper price for them, and if they obtain a first-rate building in the choice of which they have themselves borne a part, it may be predicted that they will not grumble that the outlay. Better no buildings at all than half measures which will please no one.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 24 March 1887.

THE LORD PROVOST AND THE MUNICIPAL BUILDINGS.

University of Edinburgh, March 23.

Sir,— Can you afford space for the publication of the enclosed letter to the Lord Provost on the Municipal Buildings scheme, with his Lordship's reply?

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

University of Edinburgh, March 23

My Dear Lord Provost, – In common with, I have no doubt, the vast majority of the citizens of Edinburgh, I am anxious to do anything that may lie in my power to assist the scheme on foot for providing proper accommodation for the municipal authorities. I feel very strongly, however, that if any large scheme of rebuilding be carried out, the question of the architectural character of the structure is one of great importance, and one which concerns the community at large as well as the municipal body. No aid has been given towards the settlement of this problem by the published words of the professional assessor, who has evidently estimated the comparative merit of the designs in independence of the question of their architectural fitness for the site proposed and I feel some difficulty in knowing on what principles the *careful and deliberate consideration* of plans spoken of in the statement to the rate-payers, will proceed. Do you contemplate taking into account the opinion of the educated public outside the Town Council upon this exceptional and weighty matter; or will the deliberation involved be one in which the outside public will have no recognised *locus standi*?

All that I am anxious for is that consideration of artistic and historical fitness shall not be thrust into the background in comparison with questions of internal arrangement, which, however important, are not the only questions to be faced. If you are able to give any assurance that the matter will receive due attention from the point of view which I venture here to put before you it will I am sure give to many who are keenly interested in the subject no little satisfaction. I should be very glad, too, of your consent to my sending your reply, in company with this letter, for publication in the morning journal.

I remain, my dear Lord Provost, cordially yours,

G. Baldwin Brown.

City Chambers, Edinburgh, March 23, 1887.

Dear Professor Brown, – In reply to your letter, I beg to say (and I'm sure I express the opinion of *all* the supporters of the Municipal Buildings Bill) that if the bill goes forward, every opportunity will be given for the fullest consideration of the architectural fitness of the designs which may be chosen for this site proposed; and for this end we will be thankful to have the *very best advice* which can be obtained.

We all love Edinburgh too well to do anything which would mar the beauty of our city or be inconsistent with its traditions. Abundance of time will be given for the best public opinion to find fitting expression.

You are quite at liberty to publish this reply along with your letter to me.

I am, most truly yours,

Thomas Clark.

The Scotsman, December 10, 1888.

THE ART CONGRESS.

University of Edinburgh, December 8.

Sir, —Kindly permit me to correct a slight error in your report of the proceedings at the Fine Art Congress in Liverpool in your issue of Saturday. I did not suggest the establishment of schools for the teaching of mural painting, but expressed a hope that a school, in the sense of a brotherhood of artists, would arise for the prosecution of this form of art.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, April 22, 1889.

ARCHITECTURAL AMENITY.

University of Edinburgh, April 19.

Sir,—Will you permit me to call public attention to a serious injury which is now being inflicted on a building of which all citizens of Edinburgh are supposed to be justly proud?

The blocks of houses which surround Charlotte Square present a singularly fine example of monumental architecture applied to private dwellings. It may not be the best way of planning such dwellings to group them in single compositions, each of which appears like one extensive palace, but such was in fact the plan here adopted, and no architectural idea of the kind was ever carried out more nobly. Three of these blocks have been long ago badly defaced by dormer windows and other additions; but that on the North has remained happily untouched, save by a couple of small excrescences modestly concealed behind the central pediment. Hence it was possible up to a few days ago to point it out to strangers as a fine piece of work of the grand period of Edinburgh architecture still practically unspoiled. Will it be credited that at this moment carpenters and slaters are busily engaged in the construction of a large square attic story above a house near the centre that will utterly ruin the completeness of effect of this unique monument?

It ought to be well enough understood, at any rate by that class of citizens who are supposed to read and travel and to represent culture in our midst, that when a private house forms an integral part of a recognised and admired architectural composition, its proprietor is bound to respect the general scheme of the designer of the whole. His house is not his own to do what he pleases with, but he is under obligation to show piety to the past, and consideration for the feelings of his fellow-townsmen. In this case Edinburgh is being distinctly robbed of an architectural beauty, while the Dean of Guild's Court has given neither aid nor warning, and the Cockburn Association watches from the further corner of the square, and makes no public sign.

Another fine piece of architectural effect in Edinburgh has recently been marred in a somewhat similar manner, though here the mischief can easily be remedied. The buildings in the old town about Cockburn Street are adorned, as all the world knows, with the names and occupations of their owners in letters of gold. The effect is by no means bad, and it might be quoted as a modern example of the decorative use of script. The letters are nearly of the same size throughout, and we can all read them from Princes' Street. What now has been the effect of the introduction, in the midst of these modest inscriptions, of a new row of letters of astonishing brilliancy, and of a size suitable for perusal from the shores of Fife? The harmony of the picturesque and varied composition is at once destroyed by the one obtrusive feature. The eye is caught and fixed, and when it can get away finds all the buildings put out of scale and the whole effect impoverished.

Both the cases here mentioned may seem to some comparatively trivial. Artistic effect, however, depends much on harmony, and it is unfortunately very easy to break this by a discordant note. Could the forthcoming Art Congress find any better field of work than in endeavouring to make the general taste in these matters more intelligent and exacting, and

rousing a public feeling which should make these and similar small acts of vandalism impossible in the future?

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, April 29, 1889.

ARCHITECTURAL AMENITY.

University of Edinburgh, April 26, 1889.

Sir, —In pleading for the above it is well to recognise the distinction between what is desirable but not practicable, and what we may not only wish for but are bound to secure. We can only carry the public along with us when we show that we make in the name of art no vague or extravagant claims, but desire only to enforce a practical point. It would, no doubt, be highly desirable to veto all tasteless buildings, and all changes that would interfere in any way with the amenity of our beautiful city; but we cannot hope to effect this in any absolute manner by enactment. One could wish, for example, that Princes' Street had been saved out of the hands of the spoiler, but Princes' Street has long been somewhat miscellaneous in the character of its architecture, and I do not know if any authority could prevent the enterprising hotel-keeper from introducing along its skyline those original and striking features of which he seems so fond. Supposing, however, an outrage were to be threatened by way of additions or alterations to the Register House, the case would be very different. The Register House is a public possession, and the citizens of Edinburgh both own the right and would certainly exercise the power to defend it.

Now, the northern block in Charlotte Square is, in a sense, as much a public possession as the Register House, though it happens to be made up of private dwellings. If the owners of these desire to exercise proprietary rights over their portions of the structure, and if their action involves, as in the present case, a serious damage to the general architectural effect, then civic authority should certainly interpose. The Dean of Guild's Court is obviously the proper quarter to which to look, and is a body on which we ought to be able to rely to safeguard the interests of the citizens. No one loves Edinburgh better than the present Lord Dean of Guild, and we ought to be able to feel safe in his hands. Unless I am misinformed, the Dean of Guild's court used to show in the past more active care for these interests than has been the case in more recent days. Its officials know at any rate beforehand what is in contemplation, and could in a matter like this act in time. When the outrage is actually in progress, it is generally too late for anything but an indignant protest, and this I venture again emphatically to make, hoping that other voices may be added to mine, and that the interest which this matter is exciting may not die down without some substantial result for good.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

P. S. — As I find that my previous letter has given rise in some quarters to misconception, I may state that I have been referring to the additions to the front upper story of No. 7 Charlotte Square, and not to the alterations which I believe are in progress next door but which have not affected the front elevation of the block.

The Scotsman, May 4, 1889.

ARCHITECTURAL AMENITY.

Callander, May 2, 1889.

Sir, —As I began the controversy on the above subject, may I be allowed to state that I deprecate in the strongest manner the introduction of names and personal references, from either side, into what is essentially a public matter. I do not desire to know who is the individual proprietor who may be concerned in any act of what appears to be architectural impiety. However widely respected such a one may be in personal or professional life, this is no reason why his action should pass uncriticised. What I have done has nothing personal about it, and my only desire is to enlist public opinion on the side of good taste and reverence for the great architectural traditions of our city. I have already expressed my own opinion on the act complained of. It is made none the better because similar architectural iniquities have been already committed in other parts of the Square, or because, to judge from the utterances of a recent anonymous correspondent, there are others who are ready to repeat them.

If any remedy is to be found it will be by appealing to public opinion, and when this is once roused a method might be found of making it of some practical effect, if it were recognised as part of the duties of the Dean of Guild Court — strengthened, if need be, for the purpose — to bring some semi-official pressure to bear on the proprietors who, from inadvertence or faulty taste, were going to do some such injury to the city as the one at present complained of.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

City of Edinburgh Council, 4 June 1889.

THE CALTON CONVENING ROOMS*

I venture to call your attention to a matter which will, I believe, be shortly under discussion in the Town Council. I refer to a proposal made to open two windows in the screen wall which bounds the Calton Convening Rooms in Waterloo Place. The buildings in Waterloo Place form one of the best architectural features of the city and are as yet practically untouched by any modern alterations. The screen wall I refer to is repeated on the other side of the road, where it forms a suitable boundary to the burying – ground. The architecture of it has been carefully and admirably designed in accordance with its position and use, and to break through it with the proposed new windows would most seriously injure the architectural effect. I know that you will give this matter your best attention, and will consider whether it is possible to avoid this alteration, which would, I am sure, be regretted by all lovers of Edinburgh.

(* The date of the original letter is not indicated but is likely to be around 1 June 1889).

The Scotsman, 31 January 1890.

THE LATE JOHN BRIGGS, ARTIST.

University of Edinburgh, January 30, 1890.

Sir,—Will you permit me to add a few words to your notice of the late Mr John Briggs, whose death has deprived our artistic community of one who would have filled a special place in its ranks? It was his desire to devote himself to decorative and mural painting of the highest class, and he would have brought to this work accomplished knowledge of the figure and a singularly refined taste in colour. It was no small credit to him and to the R.S.A. Life School that the studies from the figure in water-colour which he took with him in 1887 to Paris, seemed so good to the Professor in the decorative Atelier at the Beaux Arts that he forthwith passed him into that school without any “concours de place” or entrance formalities, which are usually rigorously exacted. After some months with Professor Galland and the Beaux Arts, John Briggs entered the South Kensington schools as a national scholar, and though he met with some difficulties there, as the science and Art Department is not constituted for the encouragement of original talent, he earned the high approbation of Mr Sparkes, the Principal of the National Art Training School, who writes to me of John Briggs’ ”great gifts and refined artistic nature ,” and states:-he was a sweet, gentle, refined man, who has commanded the love of his fellow-students in a way I have never before known, and I am convinced that a most valuable artist and designer has gone from us.”

I think all who knew our late friend can endorse these words. He was essentially lovable, modest, painstakingly ambitious only to excel in his art. Such a man-prepared as he was to make his home in Edinburgh, and to devote all his talent and knowledge to those forms of painting which appeal specially to the community at large-might have given a fresh direction to the efforts of some students and have enlarged the borders of Scottish art. Personally I greatly deplore his loss, and wish that something might be done to perpetuate his memory.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, May 10, 1890.

SCOTTISH PAINTING AND THE GROSVENOR GALLERY EXHIBITION.

Savile Club, London, May 5, 1890.

Sir, —The Exhibition at the Grosvenor Gallery, perhaps the most attractive of the three just open, affords satisfactory evidence of the healthful stir of new life in Scottish painting which is now making itself felt both within and without the Academic fold. Sir Coutts Lindsay has given prominence to a collection of pictures representing the aims in their art of some of the younger painters of the West of Scotland, his work has of late received a good share both of attention and criticism. Though still to some extent in the state of experiment, and taking perhaps too narrow a view of the capabilities of the painter's art, they have been labouring with a genuine resolve to make the utmost that they possibly could out of their craft, as they understood it. The present examples of their work show them settling down into a method of painting which has undoubted solidity and style. It is true that there is foreign influence discernible in their work, but the narrow prejudice which has existed in some quarters against Continental study for the young painters of our own country needs no longer be argued against. Thoré has said that three things are required to make a picture – nature, the intimate personal feeling of the artist for nature, and the feeling which nature has inspired in other artists. To secure this indispensable third element, students will almost of necessity have to familiarise themselves with the aims and methods of the dominant schools of the Continent. That they can do so without losing whatever of value there may be in national or local peculiarities in painting can be sufficiently seen by comparing Scottish work with that which is being done by similar earnest students in other parts of Britain. Parisian study has left its impress upon the work of others of the young British painters who are evincing a healthful disposition to gather together in schools with distinct common characteristics, and it is the noteworthy that when, for example, we contrast the Scottish works here referred to with those of Mister Stanhope Forbes and his fellows, we find that colour, the traditional note of the Scottish School, still glows richly through the Glasgow painters' orthodox low-toned greys, whereas the "Newbyn" pictures tend to become suffused with a pallid blue. Colour, too, is equally prominent to-day in some other Scottish pictures of marked character such as those of Mister Robert Noble (best represented at the Academy) and of Mister John Reid, who appears to have returned from his recent excursion into the realms of experiment, and now to strongly favour Mister Hook - a notable testimony to the enduring worth, in the midst of the restlessness of modern art, of old and tried methods founded on the study of the Venetians. Nor again is the "harmony" learnt abroad gained in the Scottish pictures by any pusillanimous ignoring of difficulties. It is easy to get harmony of hue by painting a picture all in one colour, and harmony of tone by leaving out all the lights and shadows. The works in question show on the contrary, a good deal of "pluck" in grappling with the real problems, and in the picture of "The Druids – Bringing in the Mistletoe" strongly reminiscent of Albert Maignan, Messrs George Henry and E. A. Hornel have evinced a boldness which some would call by another name.

To say of these Scottish west country works that they show a true appreciation of the first essential of the painter's art as understood in modern times, harmony and beauty of effect in tone and colour; and that, further, they give evidence of "intimate personal feeling

for nature,” the basis of all right impressionism, as well as of a conscientious effort to express this by touches, everyone of which shall have decision and meaning – would probably be to say all that the painters themselves, in their austere modernisms, would care to hear. To hint a word about interest of subject is to run the risk of a protest, for there are some painters and critics so sensitive that they are frightened at everything in a picture but its decorative effect. Such will, however, have to learn that unless pictures are to be in the future very attenuated productions, “subject,” rightly understood, will be in its own way as important as it has been in the past. For around all the objects in nature there have been woven a vesture of associations without which we do not know and do not care to know them, and far from desiring to strip this all away and to show the objects of nature only as decorative patches of tone and colour, the painter should appeal to these associations, and so reach the heart as well as the eye. Corot, at any rate, did this. His pictures are in their way full of that “interest of subject” now so impatiently decried. Does he not recall to us the repose of evening, the poetic suggestiveness of dawn, the mystery of the woodland? Is he not careful to admit no touch of prosaic modernism among the objects in his picture, and delight rather to carry us faraway, like Keats, into the world of nymphs and fauns? Fortified by so high an example, a critic of Philistine leanings might even venture to congratulate Mr James Paterson that his picture, “The Moon is Up,” perhaps the most satisfactory work of the set under consideration, really takes us out into the moonlight; Mr Roche that the types of face and form in his sketch, “Garden of Girls,” are in refreshing contrast to the conventional young misses and brides as created by Royal Academicians; and Mr Lavery, that in his “Morning after the Battle of Langside” he has, without, of course, any insistence on a story, wakened for us some pleasant old-time memories of scenes in the “good greenwood,” and given us a reminiscence of the breaking in of points of light from the dawning day,

“With the breezes blown

Through verdurous glooms and winding mossy ways”.

This is the sort of thing we want in the way of “subject,” not prosaic modern lawn tennis parties, however nice in “values.”

It is a most welcome sign of the real vitality possessed by the art of painting in our midst to find young artists connected by local ties or kindred tastes working thus side-by-side with common aims, and forgoing each other onward through that wonderful domain of art wherein each further step seems to reveal new worlds to traverse and conquer. Let us hope that these young painters will advance steadily and far, and will come in time to have something of the same influence on British painting as has been exercised by some of their distinguished forerunners who issued from the school of Lauder.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, October 4, 1890.

RAILWAY SCHEMES V. URBAN AMENITY.

University of Edinburgh, October 3, 1890.

Sir,—May I ask if you will kindly afford space in your columns for the following considerations bearing upon the railway schemes at present under discussion?

The question now at issue may seem at first sight to be one between “amenity” on the one side, and “public convenience” on the other. I hope to be able to show that this is not exactly the case; but taking it for the moment as stated, I venture to urge that it does not necessarily follow that “amenity” should give way. To take an extreme instance, it would undoubtedly be for the “public convenience” of Londoners to remove St Paul’s Cathedral, which at present blocks the most important line of thoroughfare from the West End to the City, but no one would propose on this plea to demolish Wren’s masterpiece. In the same way it ought to be held impossible to scar and mutilate the most beautiful and characteristic parts of Edinburgh. The proposal to tunnel under Princes’ Street or through the gardens is a preposterous proposal. Discredited months ago, it looks no better upon a second view. To allow it would be to risk making ourselves a laughingstock to a good part of Europe and America. What would the outsider say? He would tell us: You have got one of the best streets in the world, which strangers come from all parts to see and enjoy, and here you are prepared first of all to hand it over for years to the navy, and then to risk making it almost uninhabitable with blow-holes by day – which would soon make their appearance – and goods trains by night – for these would not be far behind. And all for what? To allow the Caledonian Railway to get to the east end, which would be reached quite as easily by George Street to St James’ Square! So also with the new proposal of the North British to take in a large proportion of East Princes’ Street Gardens. I agree thoroughly with the remarks of one of your evening contemporaries that “the proposed slice” of the Gardens is sufficient to damage them irretrievably, provided the huge wedge-shaped cutting were to be kept open and become the scene of an everlasting and busy railway traffic. With the possibility of an almost unlimited extension of the Waverley Station eastwards, this encroachment towards the west, upon one of the city’s choicest possessions, seems well-nigh as objectionable as the Princes’ Street Tunnel.

But, as was hinted above, the matter is not one between “public convenience” and “amenity” in the ordinary sense of the terms. For “public convenience” we might almost read – “a tactical advantage over a rival.” Edinburgh occupies for the moment the unfortunate position of the battleground of a fiercely-waged railway war, in which the opposing hosts employ “public convenience” as useful “cover” – or, to put it colloquially, as a “stalking-horse.” If we regard in this light recent actions and proposals, much that is puzzling seems capable of explanation. It certainly seems strange that a company which now pronounces the Waverley Market “indispensable,” but cannot say why, should so recently have feued away a piece of its land in a corresponding position at the other side of its lines; and the phenomenal helplessness of the North British staff since June, in the face of an increase of traffic which had been expected for years, seemed equally mysterious. But leaving these matters to the common-sense of the citizens, I may crave leave to point out that unless we take care we shall wake up to find that the permanent interests of the city have been sacrificed as a mere

incident in a struggle in which the public as such has no concern. For as regards what is called "amenity," it is true of Edinburgh more, perhaps, than of any other European city, that its substantial interests are bound up in the preservation of its natural and architectural beauties. The last thing our railway company would wish to do would be to "kill the goose that lays the golden eggs," yet the discrediting of Edinburgh in the eyes of tourists from all countries would probably be found to touch both the shareholders of the railway companies and the citizens generally in a very tender place.

These remarks are not offered in a spirit of hostility either to works of utility in general or to railways, or to the particular companies concerned, save insofar as their action lays them deservedly open to criticism. That an attitude of vigilance, if not suspicion, is called for by their action let the following instances prove: Last year the Caledonian Railway proposed to commit an act of the grossest vandalism in altering the end of Waterloo Place, one of the best examples of an architectural composition in the city. This year they dropped this proposal and ask frustration elsewhere, thus proving that they had no real need to ruin Elliott's masterpiece, but were merely indifferent to any injury they might inflict on the city provided they might carry out the pet scheme of the moment. In the case of the North British, we find on the plans recently exposed the proposal to acquire the Canongate Tolbooth, with the solid old stone house to the west of it, to which I have already ventured to call attention. There is, of course, no danger that the city would consent to such wanton destruction; but there the proposal stands, and it is a most opportune instance of the reckless indifference of the Railway mind to considerations which every sensible and patriotic citizen of Edinburgh holds to be of very substantial moment.

I ask, sir, are we to place any trust in public bodies that bring forward "with a light heart" such proposals as these to which I have referred? Under the guidance of its own experts the Town Council will doubtless give these matters the independent scrutiny they call for, and neither they nor the rest of the citizens will be inclined to put faith in the pretended care of the railway companies "for the amenity of the city."

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman Newspaper, October 14, 1890.

THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL GALLERY.

University of Edinburgh, October 11, 1890.

Sir,—The promised contribution from government for the purchase of pictures for the National Gallery is a source of the liveliest satisfaction, and it may be hoped that if judicious use is made of the grant it may be continued for a longer period, as in this matter there are considerable arrears to be made up. As the recent announcement naturally quickens public interest in the gallery and in its future, I may perhaps be permitted to bring forward the following considerations. There are in the main three possible functions for a Gallery like that on the Mound. It may propose (1) to present a historical view of the progress of painting in the various schools, and to compete in its masterpieces with other public galleries at home and abroad; (2) it may aim at being primarily a Scottish National Gallery, where will be represented in well-chosen examples the different phases of the work of native painters; and (3) it may have an educational purpose, and throw its strength into works which in style and technique are looked up to as models by the rising school.

I think it can hardly be doubted that the two latter aims are those which should be held in view. As regards masterpieces we do well. The Gainsborough would make the fortune of any collection, and there are many other works, not perhaps of its importance, but like the Watteau (511), the Tiepolo (532), the Jan Steen (560), the Van de Velde (518)-to name one or two in the last room only-which art up to the highest standard of painting. It is quite out of the question to suppose that with the funds at their disposal the custodians of the collection could purchase what are known as "important Gallery works" by the great masters. These, we hope, will come in from time to time as gifts or bequests, and all the more readily as the Gallery advances in importance through its own resources; but the really good ones are not to be bought, and we do not want the merely specious old master-the Venetian or Ferrarese piece with the glazes rubbed off, to the consequent ruin of all delicacies of tone and hue, or the Rubens to which the master probably only supplied a sketch and a view finishing touches. The collection is too small to be really representative of schools of painting, and it is of little use to collect miscellaneous examples from this side and from that-unless individually of the finest-while all the time there are left gaps that render nugatory all attempts at historical continuity.

The pictures that are most wanted in the Scottish National Gallery are such as have some special reason for being there, and these will obviously be, in the first place, a complete set of representative works of deceased Scottish masters. The other day I took a foreign friend into the gallery to demonstrate to him Sir George Harvey and Paul Chalmers, but found that the thing could not be done, and for the reason that their most characteristic work, their work in landscape, is conspicuous by its absence. It is to be regretted that none of the poetic and beautiful Sir George Harvey's, which were in the collection of the late Mr Robert Horn, have found their way into the National Gallery, and it is satisfactory that there will be no danger now of such opportunities for acquisition being lost through the want of funds for purchasing.

Next to representative national pictures, the Gallery need some more standard examples of simple and masterly work from the last three centuries in the kind of painting which these students of the Life Class next door would fain cultivate. These need not be by

the most expensive hands. Constable and Crome and Morland, Corot and Troyon and Rousseau should at any rate be aimed at, though I fear prices rule in these quarters pretty high. Chardin (ignored in London), of whom Alfred Stevens wrote that he would rather have painted his two bits of kitchen stuff on a plate than all the set pieces of Le Brun; Gaspar Dughet; de Koninck, whose great landscape in the Peal collection is one of the gems of the National Gallery-these are the sort of masters to look out for, and purchase when opportunity arises. Then there are landscapes of the school of Rembrandt, like the "Tobias and the Angel" in London, full of poetry and of suggestion for the worker of to-day; and there are religious pieces of the same school which exhibit (with less power) the same intense but homely and thoroughly modern treatment of sacred themes, which Eugene Fromentin praises so enthusiastically in Rembrandt. Excellent authorless pieces are sometimes to be had by good fortune at no great cost, and a few hundred pounds laid out on *works* rather than on *names* will go further than thousands spent on stock gallery productions, which may have passed through the hands of successive generations of restorers.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

P.S.-since writing the above I have had the opportunity of reading the remarks addressed to you by Mr Patrick Adam, A.R.S.A. The only point in which I would venture to express a divergent opinion is in regard to the purchase of works by living artists. I confess I should look forward to this with something like dismay. The Gallery, it is true, holds as some of its chief ornaments work by living Scottish artists, but these have not been bought for the permanent collection with public money. For this I think it is best to wait for a few years after an artist's death, till he has become, or is in a fair way to become, a classic-as Corot, for example, has done within a comparatively short space of time. In view of the somewhat experimental character of so much of modern practice, a little caution is highly desirable.

Edinburgh Evening News, 31 October 1890.

EDINBURGH MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS: ST GILES WARD

In the Free Tron Church Hall, Chambers Street, Edinburgh, last night, Professor Baldwin Brown addressed a meeting of the electors of St Giles Ward in connection with his candidature for the representation of the Ward in the Town Council. Mr Francis Black occupied the chair, and there was a very large attendance. When the platform party appeared they were received with cheers and hisses. The speakers got a good hearing, and a vote of confidence in the Professor was carried.—The Chairman, in introducing Professor Baldwin Brown, said he was a man of high taste and culture. (Interruption at back of hall.) They were all aware how much they were indebted to the beauty of Edinburgh for its prosperity, and no one could look better after the amenity than Professor Baldwin Brown. (Applause and hisses.)—Professor Baldwin Brown said the reason he was standing as a candidate was because there was a very widespread feeling among the electors in favour of electing representatives who were independent of political and other organisations, who came before them pledged indeed, but only pledged to give every question a most careful and independent consideration. He did not think that party politics should play any part in municipal elections or should be introduced into town council affairs at all. (Loud applause.) He was a Liberal in politics, however, and had been all his life. Since the unfortunate split had taken place among the Liberals he had belonged to the party headed by Mr Gladstone. He was in favour of important public matters being settled by the public voice, and the question of the reduction of the number of licenced houses he would submit to the public judgement. His platform was the platform of social reform. (Applause.) His special and continued object if returned to the Council would be to further every measure that would have for its effect the raising of the general level of the life of the population, and he believed that could best be done by beginning with material concerning the people. He would consider it a greater honour also to be returned for St Giles Ward than for any other ward in the city. (Applause.) He believed that

THE PRESENT RAILWAY SCHEMES

were of the most important future consequence to the city, and he further held that if they did not decide rightly now they would lose a great opportunity. Mr Flannigan — (loud applause) — had pledged himself to the tunnel along Princes Street. He thought it was a matter in which the candidates should not be tied down. They should leave themselves free until they had heard the reports of eminent engineers on the matter. ("what are ye to represent," and laughter.) If he were returned they would return one pledge only to exercise a most careful and jealous scrutiny upon these schemes. (Applause.) - Mr Foley repeated his question, saying that as a ratepayer he claimed to be answered.—Professor Baldwin Brown: I was asked to come forward by gentlemen respected in this ward. Everyone knew from the beginning what my political opinions were. If this had been a political meeting, it would have been quite different. Questions regarding the tramways and the electric light were answered, the candidate being in favour of the town taking over the former, and of the introduction of the latter. If returned he would see that Corporation contracts and estimated

work were given to employers with properly-ventilated workshops, who paid the standard rate of wages, and he was in favour of the establishment of washhouses for the poorer classes. — Professor Geddes moved a vote of confidence in Professor Baldwin Brown, and said that it was the first time in his life he had been called a Tory. ("You're in bad company then.") Speaking of the railway proposals, he said that in 25 years both companies would probably amalgamate, and form a great railway ring, and if their proposals were now allowed to go on they would then have useless lines and a desolated city. Mr Wm. Small, draper, seconded the motion which was carried amid loud applause without an amendment.'

The Scotsman, 10 November 1890 (extract).

THE ART CONGRESS.

Professor Baldwin Brown, Edinburgh, then presented a report from the Permanent Edinburgh Committee of the National Association. It described the action of the Edinburgh Permanent Committee in regard to certain railway schemes which threatened the beauty and amenity of the city. A resolution was drawn up calling attention to the dangerous character of some of the railway proposals, such as that of tunnelling Princes' Street. They found themselves, in fact, involved in a railway war. One of these proposals was to take a considerable slice from Princes' Street Gardens; another was to remove one of the best pieces of classical architecture they possessed at Waterloo Place, which it was proposed to take down and rebuild in the form of a railway station. A third was to extend the line on a high embankment through the beautiful suburb north of Calton Hill. A considerable public opinion had been aroused on the matter, and there was a strong feeling that the legitimate demands of the Railway Companies could be satisfied without any such acts of vandalism as were contemplated in the schemes. The matter having been well considered by the Permanent Committee of the Association, a deputation was appointed to wait upon the Lord Provost and Town Council to support the resolutions arrived at by the committee. On the ground that the preservation of the characteristic features of Edinburgh from any threatened vandalism was a matter not only of local, but also of national, perhaps even of world-wide importance — (hear, hear) — he (Professor Baldwin Brown), in the name of the Edinburgh Committee, invited a deliverance from the Congress on the matter in question. (applause). Mr H.H. Statham (editor of the *Builder*) moved — "That this Congress, recognising the exceptional position of Edinburgh as a city, expresses its hearty sympathy with the Edinburgh Permanent Committee in its efforts to preserve the characteristic features of the city from injury." Mr Ralph Nevill seconded the resolution. The President said this was a matter which concerned them very much. He did not deny the immense utility of the railways, but he wished that the amenity of our cities should be preserved. The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

The Scotsman, 5 May 1891 (extract).

OPPOSITION TO THE NORTH BRITISH WAVERLEY STATION BILL.

Professor Baldwin Brown moved –

That this meeting of citizens entirely disapproves of the proposed further encroachments upon the East and West Princes' Street Gardens by the North British Railway Company. (Applause.) He was expressing the feeling of the meeting when he said that they did not come there as fanatics upon this question of amenity. They did not come there in any spirit of hostility to the North British Railway Company or to any other railway company – (applause) – but desired to consider the question upon its merits, and to give it a fair and impartial consideration. The North British Railway Company's demands might be divided into three heads. First, fresh space on which to reconstruct their Waverley Station; secondly, they desired the ground underneath the Waverley Market; and thirdly, they desired additional ground to be used for access to their station in West and East Princes' Street Gardens. In regard to the first point, the space required could be got if the Company went eastwards, (hear, hear and applause.) The objection to the ground on the east was that the railway would be on a slope. But it was on a slope now, and if the railway engineers could not overcome that difficulty he did not know what engineers were for. (Applause.) Passing to the second point, the acquisition of the ground under the Waverley Market, he referred to in the recent discussions in Parliament as showing that the citizens of Edinburgh considered the Waverley Market is a very important possession, and one not likely to be interfered with. (Applause.) In the third place, there was the question of additional facilities of access, and this was the strongest point at first sight in the demands made by the Company. Everybody must have felt that there seemed *prima facie* a certain reason for the demand for an additional strip of ground in order to double the lines giving access to the Waverley Station, but if the question was considered in the light of the evidence given by the railway officials, it would be seen that this was not so. The evidence showed that only 289 trains were taken westward in one day. Of these, 31 work goods trains, which had no right there at all, and 68 were loose engines going to be turned at Haymarket. It was the hauling out of these trains to the West that they wanted to do away with, and if the Railway Company felt that they must grapple with the difficulty they would do it. If they were forced to arrange their traffic within an area as large as they would to the East, they will be able to carry out their designs perfectly well. (Applause.)

The Scotsman, May 7, 1891.

THE NORTH BRITISH RAILWAY SCHEME.

University of Edinburgh, May 5.

Sir,—Although some of the opinions expressed in this letter may not accord with your own judgement, yet I venture to hope that, in view of the great public importance of the questions involved, you will grant me space for a brief statement of the views held by the opponents of the present North British Railway scheme.

I do not see any reason but one why opposition to the North British scheme should be called an “aesthetic fad,” while opposition to the late scheme of the Caledonian was lauded as patriotic. This one reason is that which you have more than once urged in your columns, namely, that in the case of the North British a grave question of public convenience is involved, while in the other case the only persons to be consulted were imaginary beings burning to get, without a moment’s delay, from Haddington to Lanark. Now, we admit to the full the magnitude of the public interests involved in the reconstitution of the Waverley Station, but are sceptical on the question whether the way in which the Company wants to do their work is really the only way in which the work can be done. We do not blindly accept the statements made by the Company’s officials, in whose mouth “we cannot do without” means often no more than “we very much want,” and “it cannot be done otherwise,” is not very different from “it would cost more and not suit our commercial purposes so well.” For instance, the chairman of the North British told the Town Council last autumn that “they could not do without” the Waverley Market, whereas this part of the scheme was readily dropped in London after the Caledonian had been also excluded. Our contention is that, while the Company desire for their own reasons to bring their station as far west as possible, they could gain all they need in the way of accommodation by confining their operations to the east of the Waverley Bridge. That this contention is reasonable may, I think, fairly be urged on the data furnished by the Company’s own officials. The answers on this point given before the House of Lords Committee by Mr Galbraith and the late Mr Walker, as reported in your columns, are so important that I venture to ask for space to quote them.

Mr Galbraith stated that “There would be no difficulty in dealing with the 222 trains from the west by the double set of metals they had at the present time through the two Princes’ Street Gardens if the traffic at the Waverley Station were through traffic, or even terminal traffic with ample accommodation at the end. But the Waverley Station was peculiar. He did not think there was any in the United Kingdom like it. Their lines through Princes’ Street Gardens had a greater carrying capacity than the station could deal with. There were 374 trains coming through Calton tunnel in the day, and at present they were dealt with after a fashion on a double set of metals.” Mr Walker when asked, “But with proper accommodation at the station itself, could you then work the traffic on the existing lines to the West?” Answered, “I don’t say that it would be impossible to do so, but it would not be so convenient by a very long way.” The further replies on this point by the late general manager contain the gist of the whole matter. The difficulty he explained to be, “that when the trains coming to Waverley from the West they have to be hauled out to the West to make room for other trains.” Now everybody hopes that when the station is rearranged this vicious system will be done away with, and what we want the Town Council to do is to

ascertain from competent authorities whether or not the proper shunting room can be gained in the vast area open on the east, which can be further extended if the goods business is made to yield place to the passenger accommodation.

Surely there is common sense in this view, and not a mere aesthetic fad. The artistic bodies of the city, headed by the Royal Scottish Academy, have considered, as they were bound to do, these railway schemes from the point of view of the amenity of Edinburgh, and have twice brought their views by deputation before the Town Council. They have never urged, or even mentioned, any ideal projects for turning the railways out of the valley altogether; for they recognise that the desirable event is outside the domain of "practical politics." What they have all along urged, and what I venture in their name to urge again, is that we should neither yield to the commercial desires of the Caledonian to tunnel Princes' Street nor to the commercial desire of the North British to get as far west as possible with their station; that we should resist to the utmost both the opening of huge scars on the bottom of the valley, and the filling up of its floor, to which Lord Cockburn objected so forcibly long ago. We cannot now get the railway out of the valley, but let us, in the name of common sense, as well as of amenity, keep them to that part of it where they can obtain all they can reasonably demand without fresh injury to those Gardens on which the public of Edinburgh feels just as strongly as it feels about Princes' Street itself.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, May 28, 1891.

THE NORTH BRITISH RAILWAY SCHEME.

University of Edinburgh, May 27.

Sir,—For heaven's sake do not let us have any more stakes planted out in our gardens – it is like having stakes run through one's own flesh and bones!

The question of the North British Railway schemes has happily been much simplified within the last day or two, both by the letter of the Town Council and the blank *non possumus* of the Company. However the Town Council may have managed this business in the past, there can be little question now that their ultimatum, published in your columns on Monday last, is both reasonable and business-like. There are not a few who, judging from the statistics of other railways, as well as from the statements made by the officials of the Company, have believed that under proper arrangements the traffic westwards could be worked on the existing two lines of rails in the West Gardens, but in the present condition of affairs it is hard to see how this view can be made to prevail, and a fair compromise having been proposed by the Town Council, it will probably be the most patriotic course for all parties to unite in its support. Now I think one may state with great confidence that, putting aside those who hold the view just indicated, and those who are privately bound to the Railway Company, all classes and sections of the community are in substantial accord with the present action of the Corporation, and it only remains for the public to make its feelings known in such a manner as will practically decide the question at issue. We require: –

1. Ward meetings to express approval of the position now assumed by the citizens' representatives.
2. Resolutions passed at a general meeting of public bodies in the city, whether these bodies have or have not any special connection with artistic matters.
3. Formal endorsement of the action of the Council on the part of representative citizen ratepayers of all sections of the community.

Let me, in conclusion, urge upon those who may have been dissatisfied with the previous action of the Corporation, or of some of its members in the matter of railway schemes, to remember that the city does not belong to the Town Council, but to the citizens, and it is their duty to look themselves after their property. At a crisis like this we have not to think of the past but of the future. Let us bear in mind that we are not contending only with a Scottish Railway Company that might be expected to share some feelings of patriotism, but with the great English companies, who have no sort of care for the interests of Edinburgh, and think only of the through traffic to the north. It is for the convenience of this through traffic, from which Edinburgh derives no benefit, that the monstrous proposals of the North British in regard to the East Princes' Street Gardens have been made and are maintained.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, June 2, 1891.

THE NORTH BRITISH RAILWAY AND PRINCES' STREET GARDENS.

University of Edinburgh, June 1, 1891.

Sir,—In so far as the letter in your correspondence columns this morning refers personally to me and those with whom I have been acting in the matter of the railway schemes, it requires no reply; but I must at the same time point out – lest anyone should be misled by the lettering question – that the communication to the Town Council, which he and others have been asked to sign, distinctly concedes to the North British Railway Company the ground needful for the four lines of rails, and on this, as on other points, merely supports the Town Council in their reasonable contentions on behalf of the interests of the city.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 8 December, 1891.

A MUSEUM OF CASTS FROM GREEK SCULPTURE.

University of Edinburgh, December 7, 1891.

Sir,—The President of the Royal Scottish Academy in his recent address to the students of the life class bore emphatic testimony to the value of intelligent study of the remains of ancient sculpture, and his remarks apply not only to his immediate hearers, but to all students of antiquity and lovers of art. Is it not possible now to supply a long-felt need in our midst, and to secure for Edinburgh a collection – representative if small – of casts from the masterpieces of antique sculpture? Respect for a time-honoured institution forbids me to refer to the present aspect of the Statue Gallery at the foot of the Mound; but there exists there, at any rate, many works, such as the reproductions from the Elgin marbles, that must always form the nucleus of any collection of casts from the antique. To these would now naturally fall to be added – for the historical student, specimens of the severe archaic style so interesting when rightly understood, and for the lover of Greek art at its prime, some of the various newly discovered or newly identified works which have so greatly enlarged our knowledge of that art in its manifold development. The stock subject of art schools, the Laocoons and the fighting gladiators, with their kind, give only a very partial idea of the spirit of the antique. It is in productions of the Attic masters that the form becomes instinct with life, and that we feel the truth of Plutarch's fine criticism on the Parthenon sculptures when he claimed for them "a sort of bloom of newness that preserves them from the touch of time, as if they had some perennial spirit and undying vitality mingled in their composition." Such works are indeed a fountain of beauty, from which we may draw one of the purest and most disinterested pleasure is open to man. The cost of reproductions is small, and carriage by sea makes no very serious addition. Should we not make an effort in a wealthy and art-loving community like ours to secure this possession?

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, December 24, 1891.

WHAT IS "IMPRESSIONISM?"

University of Edinburgh, December 22, 1891.

Sir,— The prominence given in your notices of the Royal Scottish Academy Exhibition to the "impressionist" school of painting may have led some of your readers to ask themselves the question, What, after all, is "Impressionism?" and it is with the view of suggesting some answer that I venture to crave space for this letter.

"Impressionism" is not a new thing, but a certain method of viewing and representing nature that has been known and used from the seventeenth century downwards. It has even a scientific basis, and rests on the phenomena of vision, to which so much attention has in these days been directed. Every one knows that the act of "seeing" may mean one or two different things. We may allow our glance to travel leisurely over the field of vision, viewing the objects one by one, and forming a clear picture of each; or we may try to take in the whole field of vision at a glance, ignoring the special objects, and trying to frame before us a kind of summary representation of the whole; or, thirdly, we may choose a single point in the field of vision, and focus on that our attention, allowing the surrounding objects to group themselves in an indistinct general mass. We can look at nature in either of these three ways; each is as legitimate as the other; but since in most ordinary cases we look at things in order to gain information about them, our vision is usually of the first or analytical kind, in which we explore the objects successively, noting, each by each, their individual characteristics. Now, all early painters, and the majority of painters to this day, represent nature in a way that corresponds with this analytical vision. They are, of course, careful of the general effect, to which they subordinate the individual objects; but these objects are nonetheless of importance in themselves, and the just delineation of the special characteristics of each, is a large part of the aim of the artist. Since the 17th century, however, side-by-side with these delineators there have worked men who were comparatively careless as to what the various objects before them were in themselves, but were intensely sensitive to the effect of them all together in a mass, or grouped round a special point on which their attention is concentrated. These men are the "impressionists," and the twin leaders of them all are Rembrandt and Velasquez.

The name is a suitable one, because it is of the essence of their method to take what nature offers without scrutiny into detail, so that they seem to be acted upon, "impressed," by nature, and merely to render back the "impression" in their art. This is not, however, quite the truth of the matter. The artist's mind is never merely passive. There is just as much mental effort of one kind in fusing all the varied elements of a scene into one simple "impression," or in focussing the effect on one chosen point, as there is mental effort of another kind in exploring detail. The work of both the masters just named illustrates this. Velasquez seems to view all things in a more or less even light, bathed in an atmosphere in which contours are lost and local tints become generalised into one harmonious greyness. Rembrandt, on the other hand, concentrates. He selects his point, and brings out certain forms in all their plastic fulness, while all other objects within the field are merely suggested. In both cases we have to do with a reading of nature that belongs to the painter's own personality – that is, the work of his artistic imagination giving form to the "impression" received from without. Hence an impressionist picture may be described as a highly

generalised rendering of nature, in which the subject has been conceived of as a whole in the artists' mind through an effort of the imagination, and from these general characteristics follow certain technical qualities that we find illustrated in such a typical impressionist as Corot. In the rapid synthesis that we have described objects present themselves not by their contours so much as by their light and shade and colour. Nature becomes, not a collection of defined objects, but a varied appearance of tone and tint in which forms are only partially discernible. The proper relations of these tones and tints is a matter of the utmost moment, and is always most carefully studied. The importance of a unity of general effect being kept primarily in view, it is common in such work to avoid strong contrasts of light and shade, and to keep the whole in a low middle key. Within these limits, however, there is scope for the most exquisite art. In proportion as the different patches and hues that now make up the picture become less and less identifiable with natural subjects, they are made in themselves more lovely to the eye through delicate transitions of tone and broken tints of subtlest colouring. Corot is comparatively careless as to what his patches and tints represent. It suffices if they so far suggest nature as to touch the right chord of poetic association in the spectator, but as elements in a composition of tone and colour they are objects of his most fastidious care. Hence the impressionist piece is not only generalised and imaginative, but also in the highest degree decoratively pleasing to the eye. A good example of the style should be broad and serious and beautiful.

It remains now to say a word upon the attitude which sensible lovers of art would do well to adopt towards the characteristic impressionism of the day. The reason why it has attracted so much comment is that it represents a reaction against the tendencies previously dominant. Abroad, when it arose, the "Academic" school of painting held the field, and this school, represented centrally by Delaroche, was pre-eminently a school of form. In this country the pre-Raffaelite movement had led to a great insistence on truth of detail, and to a thoroughly analytical way of looking at things which resulted in a vast turn-out of naturalistic landscapes. Hence the impressionists, who subordinate a detailed treatment of form to general effect and beauty of tone and colour, naturally appeared as innovators and even heretics, and have not yet quite got over the suspicion with which they were at first received. Yet their method is really nothing new. Good impressionism, as we have seen, is found in the 17th century as well as in the 19th, and those painters of the West of Scotland who chiefly represent the method among ourselves would admit that the masters they most esteem are the great 17th century painters already referred to. It cannot, however, be denied that there is impressionism and impressionism, and a good deal of it that is generally on view in London and in Paris is by no means controlled by that taste and feeling for beauty that are happily native to the Scottish school. Impressionism is, indeed, attended with characteristic dangers and difficulties, of which its votaries have to beware, and the sensible lover of art will not accept blindly all that is offered to him in its name.

In the first place, there is about every impressionist work a certain pretension (the word need not have a bad meaning), in that the artist conveys in it his own special reading of his theme, and puts himself forward, so to say, in his work. Does the work justify this pretension? is the question which has to be considered, and it can only fairly be met when we take, as far as possible, the artist's own point of view. We must try to see the subject with his eyes and his intention; we must place ourselves at the proper distance, note duly where the effect is focused, and remember that as far as "finish" is concerned a work is finished when the painter's intention in it is fulfilled. We may then know whether it is a genuine reading of

nature, conscientious as well as imaginative, or an experiment; or, at the worst, a mere paradox or piece of display, in which a few haphazard brush-strokes do duty for a pregnant rendering in which every touch should have a meaning. It may be one thing as it may be the other, for there are modern impressionists who seem to go about the world taking “snap shots” at nature, and parading the results as art because it is clever and new.

Again, as regards colour, the ordinary observer is sometimes scandalised at the strange effects presented in the picture under consideration. “Who ever saw clouds such a colour is that?” and so on. But the critic forgets that he has himself been accustomed all his life to look in nature primarily for forms, while the painter has trained his eye to see nature essentially as colour. If we all looked for colour first in nature it is marvellous what unexpected beauties of hue would come soon to reveal themselves. This does not mean, however, that impressionist colouring is always true, any more than it is always beautiful. There is a temptation here, too, to paradox, and it is forgotten sometimes that no amount of technical dexterity can make a picture out of an arrangement in mauve and emerald green.

And if there is a danger that a summary method of this kind may betray the superficial practitioner into an empty kind of self-assertion, there are also very real difficulties in his way of a technical kind. As he is working for suggestion, he is apt to fall into the opposite extreme to that hardness of delineation which his soul most abhors, and to adopt a blurred uncertain touch always avoided by the acknowledged masters of his method. A picture in which all the outlines are uniformly “muzzy” looks as if it showed everything in tremulous motion; and to live with such a piece would drive a sensitive person crazy. In regard, again, to form. Form may be subordinate, but it need not be either ignored or falsified. The truth of it remains, and it is often more difficult rightly to suggest this truth than it would be to portray it with matter-of-fact exactitude. In this respect the British school is at a disadvantage, as it has never been strong on the side of form; whereas both the seventeenth century masters and the impressionists of modern France have had at their back a tradition of form which has been of the utmost advantage to their art. Velasquez, Hals, Rubens, Rembrandt may have had queer notions of beauty in form judged by classical standards, but one feels in their work that the form is all there, solid and correctly built-up, behind the play of tone and colour in which they express their artistic meaning. We do not always feel the same with our native work. Rembrandt could never have drawn the legs of an Ariadne so nicely as Mr Lavery; but if he had had to summarise the lower part of such a figure, we may be sure he would have given far more sense of plastic roundness than has been attempted in the beautiful modern picture. In landscape, too, how wonderfully Corot, even in his most dreamy moods, preserves the general shape of nature and due relations of upright and receding planes. How unsatisfactory, in comparison, is a landscape that stands all up on end like a wall! The truth is, that a mastery of form and a grasp of this general shape of things is an indispensable preliminary to the successful practice of summary methods of painting, and in this respect impressionism is rather a dangerous plaything for the immature artist.

To conclude, then, “impressionism” is really an old friend in a modern dress. It is a perfectly legitimate style of work, capable, in the right hands, of producing results of exquisite beauty. It has its theory, and it has its method, both well tried and well established. It has, too, its characteristic pitfalls for the unwary. It needs hardly, however, to be said that it is not theory or method that makes the work of art, but the spirit of a true artist working on a material plastic to his will. The impressionist should be just as conscientious as any pre-

Raffaelite, and has no excuse for haste or wilfulness. The basis, indeed, for all success in art is reverence – the reverence of the gifted artist for his own gift, his reverence in the face of that infinite and varied beauty of nature from which he is proud to garner what he can.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 8 February 1892.

“RESIDUE GRANT” AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION.

University of Edinburgh, February 6.

Sir,— The fitting allocation of the portion of this grant which falls to be dealt with by the Edinburgh Town Council is a matter of the very highest importance, and we may trust that there is no danger of the grant, or any portion of it, being lost to education through technical difficulties or through the fact that there are so many claimants to be considered. If I understand rightly the state of matters, there is a good chance that the grant, if used for technical education, may become an annual one, while it is very doubtful if it would be given again were it now used for the relief of the rates. Now, a substantial subsidy for technical education, especially in art, is not only in a general way urgently wanted, but could and would be employed here at once in a judicious way by competent bodies prepared to administer it. For some time past, in more than one quarter, the way has been prepared for a real revival in the artistic industries, of which Edinburgh is a natural centre, and the funds now available would come exactly in the nick of time to give the present movement for the intelligent education of the art workman a chance of showing what he is capable of. The machinery is ready in different parts of the city, but money is needed to supply the motive power. It is not the place here to advocate special schemes, and the Town Council would naturally take care that there should be no overlapping, but it may be pointed out that what is specially needed here in Edinburgh, help for the more advanced training of art workman, which is quite a different thing from manual training in schools under the control of the School Board. The School Board may in this matter accomplish most valuable work, but the School Board is not an association of architects and decorative artists, nor has it a workshop equipped for the practical study of materials. The advanced technical education, of which Edinburgh should certainly be the home, lies quite outside its sphere. Now, it is believed in some quarters that a technical difficulty exists in the question whether this money can legally be handed over to any other educational body but the School Board. This difficulty does not seem to weigh so heavily upon other public bodies in different parts of the country, but if it really exists, surely it is possible to secure without delay its practical removal. If the grant, or a portion of it, is given to other educational bodies, the only quarter from which a challenge could come is, I presume, the Education Department, for single School Boards could not spend the funds they administer for this purpose. It ought to be possible to discover the views of the Education Department on this question, and I should be greatly surprised if it would wish to interfere with any judicious allocation of the money for any branch of technical education in which a genuine need has been shown to exist.

The sum of £4000 is not a colossal one, and will certainly not fully satisfy all claimants, but it is one which, if rightly distributed, may give an impetus to the higher technical education in important departments which may make this year stand out as a landmark. The Town Council will naturally weigh the claims advanced from so many quarters, and may be trusted to make an impartial and judicious distribution. In the case of the particular department I have had in view, the aid would be vital and essential to a movement from which we may confidently look for an abundant practical return of benefit to the artistic industries and the whole life of the city.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, October 5, 1893.

EDINBURGH ILLUMINATIONS.

University of Edinburgh, October 3, 1893.

Sir, – The display last night brought more clearly than ever into prominence the unique beauty of the natural features of Edinburgh. Wherever these features were made the basis of the schemes of decoration and lighting, there was a success ready-made. Nothing could be more happy in effect than the long lines of glowing windows on the northern face of the Old Town. This is always the best part of our illuminations, because it brings out and emphasises the picturesqueness of the actual scene. The fireworks, however, illustrated the same point in a different way. There was a great opportunity missed through ignoring the Castle Rock, which for the whole time showed as a black patch amidst the lights. One only realised what it was when some fireworks happily refused to go off, and tumbled picturesquely fizzling down the steep. The happiest effects by far were gained when coloured fires were burnt or thrown up on the Esplanade behind the upper trees of the Gardens, or when the buildings of the Castle were descried gleaming out of clouds of strongly illuminated smoke. This was a bit of Edinburgh, and was full of interest and charm. The pyrotechnics's shower of gold, and his white magnesium stars are always beautiful in themselves, and if these had been brought into connection with the rock of the Castle there would have been something seen that only Edinburgh can show. I am not speaking of the illumination of the rock by fixed lights, as has been done on some previous occasions, for this is, no doubt, a costly and difficult matter; but the resources of the pyrotechnist's art would easily have availed to roll some of those fiery cascades down the cliff, and to kindle unexpected gleams among the trees and rocks, which lend themselves so readily to treatment of the kind

I have no idea of cavilling at the display of last night, which was excellent and for which the cordial thanks of all our due both to the municipal authorities and to the patriotic individuals whose liberality contributed so largely thereto. We may express the hope that it was as pleasing to the illustrious guests who were the recipients of this proof of the loyal enthusiasm of the citizens as it was to the citizens themselves. I only ask your permission to call attention to one or two points suggested by what we enjoyed last night. One is that we must guard against the tendency in matters of decoration to mistake quantity and technical excellence for artistic merit. The really important considerations are always those of suitability and local colour, and others that apply specially to the spot or occasion in question. The art of illumination, like every other form of decorative art, is a matter of relation – of the proper relation of its essentially transitory effects to the permanent features of a site or building. It is not a new scene that we want to be shown on such occasions, but the old one transformed for a moment. It is not decorating a building merely to hang random lights or flags about it, nor is it doing justice to a place like the Castle Esplanade merely to use it as a platform for letting off the ordinary fireworks that we have got to know so well. A "shell" may measure some inches across, and explode into a greater number of often harsh and metallic tints than any before it, but this is not the thing to be aimed at. Our fireworks are getting too costly and grand, and their effect is made to depend too little upon local surroundings.

Another point, which can hardly be too much insisted on, is the value to us of what nature and the past have combined to give us in our site and town. As time goes on we are bound to lose a good deal, both through necessary urban clearances and the far less necessary devastation of the railways. All the more reason is there for us to cherish what is left, and to take any opportunity offered of improvement. In this connection the town owes a debt of gratitude to Professor Geddes and his architects for the admirable use they are making of the wonderful sight of Ramsay Gardens. I may mention one point, in concluding, as germane to the subject of last night's display. I never see the Old Town at night from Princes' Street without speculating what may be the effect here in a few years of the introduction of the electric light. The charm of the scene is the subdued illumination by the innumerable warm flames of gas or lamps in the streets and windows. A few glaring white electric lights, perversely disposed at intervals, would, by their prominence and irradiation, be sufficient to blot out at one stroke the greater part of the beauty of the view. It may be worthwhile to bring this matter into notice in view of future changes in the lighting system.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, October 5, 1894.

RAILWAYS ROUND ARTHUR SEAT.

University of Edinburgh, October 4.

Sir, – A notice that may be alarming to friends of our city at a distance appeared in your issue of yesterday. It was to the effect that a proposal to run some sort of railway up Arthur Seat has been brought before the Town Council, explained by a Councillor who would be the last to countenance an act of Vandalism, and remitted for consideration to the Lord Provost's Committee. It was an unfortunate procedure, though doubtless in accordance with the usual routine of business. Such a preposterous scheme should have been there and then laughed out of court by the Town Council in a body, so that neither it nor any other equally eccentric proposal could be brought before the public for at any rate some time to come. It is bad enough to have suffered as we have from the railways already in our midst, without being insulted by a proposal to scar the sides of Arthur Seat, and, I presume, establish railway stations and refreshment rooms in all the most characteristic nooks of that unique and beautiful hill. Of course, there is no danger of either the Office of Works or the Town Council accepting the proposal, but there is already an impression abroad that it will be seriously canvassed, and the sooner the impossibility of such an act of desecration is generally understood the better. The projected railway is, I understand, to be tolerably extensive in its ramifications, and is not to be for our benefit, but for that of our summer visitors. Whether or not these would be complemented by our vulgarising in their supposed interests the surroundings of our city, I do not stay to inquire; but I am quite sure that a day or two spent amongst the invigorating east winds of an Edinburgh August must brace up the tourists sufficiently to enable him to dispense with any such aid in his promenades.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, January 1, 1895.

VILLAGE GREENS

University of Edinburgh, December 31, 1894.

Sir, – The interesting article on the above subject in your issue of to-day emboldens me to ask what was the origin, and what is the legal position, of village greens? It is possible that the latter has not been accurately ascertained. I remember well the enclosure of Stockwell Green – a perfect example of the old village green, though within the borders of London – but never saw the legal arguments in the case, and do not know how far they established any general conclusion. The instance quoted in your article of Walton Common, near Clevedon, is, I think, not a case of a village green, but of part of the old waste of a manor. If the land referred to is that lying on the hill by the so-called “Walton Castle,” it is some little way from the village which nestles in the hollow below. The arguments relating to it would naturally turn on the familiar “commoners’ rights,” which figure so often in the English Courts. A village green, I would submit, has, or should have, a somewhat different legal status from a “common” or “waste of a manor,” because it is different in its origin and history. What this origin and history were is somewhat obscure, and the following is only offered by way of surmise.

The Saxon manorial estate, the unit of the social organisation of the country in early mediaeval times, survived in the main features of its working almost to our own day; and even now, looking down from some neighbouring hill, we can often see, almost as clearly marked as of old, the hall and “inland” domain of the lord of the manor, the group of houses of the villagers, the arable and pasture land which they cultivated and enjoyed in common, and the more distant woodland and waste in which they had certain rights of grazing and felling. The lord on the one side, and the *villani* on the other, formed the two main elements of the society, and their relations varied so much in the course of the ages that some have believed that the community was originally democratic and the lord a usurper, while others make the lord the original and absolute possessor and the “villam” a body of serfs. These extreme views, represented respectively by Kemble and Seebohm, are superseded now by the more rational and historical theory advocated by Professor Earle, which presupposes among the Teutonic invaders (what we know they possessed) a military organisation, and assumes that when a body of free-born warriors under a military chief settled down to an agricultural life upon the conquered soil, they would divide the land into holdings, giving the chief by far the biggest share, and would agree on methods of common cultivation, and on a common use of woodland and waste. Between the various estates thus occupied by the Teutonic settlers there would intervene tracts of unclaimed country which was held to be “folk-land” belonging to the tribe or aggregate of tribes, and was administered by the King and his constitutional advisers. In course of time the relations of the chief and his followers changed, and the former acquired almost exclusive power on the estate, where he became “lord of the manor,” while the latter sank in the social scale almost into the condition of serfdom, though, as Vinogradoff has shown, they still preserved, even in their darkest times, some vestiges of their original condition of free proprietorship. How far, it may now be asked, does the aspect of the country village of to-day enable us to understand the early relations of these two bodies – lord and the *villani*?

Two institutions in the rural districts are, from this point of view, of especial interest – the village church and the village green. The first often, perhaps generally, stands in immediate proximity to the manor house or its ancient site – at Kilpeck, in Herefordshire, and Earls Barton, in Northants, the earthworks of a Saxon “burgh” rise actually from the churchyard – and this suggests, what we know was so commonly the case, that the church was originally built by the Lord as a chapel attached to his residence. At other times the church stands in the midst of the village, and seems to belong to the community at large. In such cases, its foundation may have been an act of that corporate life independent of the proceedings of the lord, of the existence of which there are abundant traces in the records of village communities. Now, what the church is only sometimes that the village green is always – a possession obviously belonging to the cottagers and not to the lord, a standing witness to the democratic element in the complex institution of the manor. Its normal position is in the midst of, or in closest proximity to, the village houses, and it is only enclosed by the roads or trackways along which these are built. Its origin may be sought in the need for some place of games and exercise which the first settlers would undoubtedly feel and which would be most readily supplied by setting apart a piece of land in the midst of the dwellings for this use in common. The waste and woodland lay at a little distance, beyond the zone of cultivated land, and were not readily available. It would be interesting to know if the character which seems thus to be stamped on the village green is borne out by any legal discussions or decisions concerning it. We know that the respective rights of lord and *villani* in the “waste of the manor” have all along formed the subject of contest, and the “land grab” of to-day is sometimes opposed in the Courts by arguments drawn from Domesday. Is the village green in exactly the same legal position as the “common”? Is it not rather the case that it has been all through history so obviously the affair of the villagers, that the lord has never even attempted any act of encroachment? Practically speaking, it was not a part of the “waste;” is there any legal doctrine that makes it such? One explanation of the village green, though propounded by a higher authority, seems obviously at fault. Professor Pollock, in his “Land Laws” (p. 39), states that “the village greens which still exist in many parts of the country, may fairly be regarded as a remnant of old and appropriated common land.” This land, however, the “folk land,” was *ex hypothesi* altogether outside the boundaries of the original manners, and was granted by the King and Witan to form new estates. (What sort of estate would a village green have made, for a holder plumped down in the very midst of a previously existing and highly exclusive village community!) The village green, by whatever title it was enjoyed, was certainly “appropriated” in the manor of which it formed a part.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 5 September 1896.

PUBLIC MEMORIALS

University of Edinburgh September 3.

Sir,— The project of a memorial to Robert Louis Stevenson is one that will doubtless find a ready and generous response. It is a matter which will be taken up by the public at large, and not only by those personally connected with him.

It is perhaps too soon to discuss the question of the form of the memorial, but it may be pointed out that a statue in the open is by no means an obligatory or even suitable form. Grave mistakes have been made in the past by putting up statues to people who would be far better commemorated by a different kind of monument. Such statues are fitting in the case of men or women who have played a more or less heroic part in the world of action of their time, and as soldiers or orators or in other capacities have been familiar figures in public places. Men essentially of the library or the studio should not have statues in the open air. It is a futile compromise when such are seated in their study chairs and then wheeled out under the canopy of heaven to sit for evermore in sun or rain or wind – like George Peabody by the Royal Exchange, and others that might be mentioned.

Carlyle has been thus treated at Chelsea, and the work, good as it is in its way, offends that common-sense which has an authority in art as in every other branch of human activity. Boehm's Carlyle is essentially a domestic piece, and makes no claim to that monumental character which should belong to public statues in open places. For men like Carlyle and Stevenson there are forms of memorial far more appropriate. The best type is the mural monument, which can be placed in a church or other public building. Of these Italy, in the early Renaissance period, produced the standard examples, and the effect of a work of this kind can be studied from the reproduction of one of the best of them, now added to the Museum in Chambers Street. For the sepulchral effigy we should, in the cases under notice, substitute a medallion portrait or a bust, and the artist would then throw his strength into the subsidiary work of a symbolical or allusive kind, with which he would build up his composition. In the case of a creator like Stevenson abundant motives drawn from his writings would be at hand, while in that of a moralist such as Carlyle the dominant thoughts in his philosophy might find embodiment in figures or designs conveying ethical suggestion, like those introduced by Alfred Stevens into his Wellington tomb.

There is a further reason for the adoption of such a form of memorial in the fact that the sculpture of the present day is more successful in the decorative and the picturesque styles than in more severe monumental design.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, March 16, 1897.

THE USHER HALL SITE.

University of Edinburgh, March 15, 1897.

Sir, – Will you allow me to express a hope that the proposal to place the new hall on the north side of Charlotte Square will not be persisted in! Charlotte Square as it stands is a complete architectural composition known far and wide as one of the best existing specimens of its style, and is, moreover, carried out with such material and workmanship that it would be simply a shame to pull down a great part of it for the sake of replacing it by a building that may be in quite a different style, and may, after all, not have the artistic merits that we all hope and trust will belong to it. This proposal runs counter to the very salutary principle laid down by the former committee in the report recommending the Castle Terrace site, to the effect that “the site should lend itself readily to architectural effect, and its appropriation for the present purpose should not require the effacement or disfigurement of any cherished and characteristic feature of the city.” Whatever happens this principle should be maintained.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 23 March 1897.

THE USHER HALL — CHARLOTTE SQUARE

University of Edinburgh, March 22.

Sir,— The Lord Provost, some days ago, asked us to suspend our judgement on this matter till the appearance of the promised report. The obligation of reticence does not seem to have been very well observed, even in quarters where it might have been most binding, and, as no report has as yet been issued, I think those who have strong opinions on the question may now be allowed to express them.

Every one must be in sympathy with the Lord Provost and Council in respect to the difficulties and disappointments that have beset this matter. It is no wonder if those chiefly concerned are by this time heartily weary of it, and eager for a settlement one way or another. When a site is proposed which, as regards at any rate locality, offers many advantages, one can easily understand a hasty decision in favour of its adoption; but it is nonetheless certain that this decision cannot stand. We are quite ready to admit all that can be said in the forthcoming report about the convenience and even the cheapness of the site; the point is that, even if it could be had for nothing, it is put out of court at once by the fact that it cannot be secured without irreparable damage to the best of the larger specimens of domestic architecture in Edinburgh – perhaps in the country at large. Wherein, it may be asked, does the great merit of Charlotte Square consist? There are some, no doubt, who do not fully recognise the difference between Charlotte Square and the buildings on the Castle Terrace site, but, as a fact, the latter, though solidly built, have no artistic value whatsoever; while Charlotte Square is an acknowledged masterpiece of one of the most distinguished architects this country ever produced. Again, Charlotte Square is erected in a style based essentially on the qualities of consistency and completeness. A picturesque variety is an architectural effect suited to other styles, but not to that of Adam. It is as a whole that Charlotte Square tells, and it is impossible to treat a single block as if it were a thing apart. It is not the case of a mere “piece of fine street architecture” as one of your correspondents has termed it, but of a monumental composition, that impresses us as much by its noble and severe dignity of general design as by its perfection in material and workmanship. If you deal with a part of this large design you are really dealing with the whole, and to dislocate the whole composition, while destroying its most perfectly preserved portion, would be to spoil one of the recognised architectural treasures of the city.

I well remember, when a new resident in the town, being in Charlotte Square with a company of Edinburgh architects – I think my friend Mr Blanc was one – who were going over with delight the artistic merits in design and detail of this north block, and they were only representatives of a vast body of citizens who know and prize it. Many, no doubt, on a bright morning, walk that way for the sake of seeing the sun light up the golden grey of the beautiful Redhall stone, and of carrying away a fresh impression of the harmony and finish of the architecture. We need not all care for the neo-classic style in itself, and we may be fully alive to certain characteristic faults in Adam’s treatment of domestic buildings, but we must all recognise that in some of the first essentials of really great architecture his work is beyond criticism. The qualities he is master of are just those which in our own day are not always to be had to order, even though we pay £100,000 for them. The “splendid specimen of modern architecture” which is to compensate for the loss of Adam’s block will, no doubt,

have many and sterling merits, but that simple dignity and largeness of style are hard to win to in modern times, and when we have them in examples of acknowledged merit from the past, we shall do well to preserve these intact.

It will be observed that the two advocates of the Charlotte Square site in to-day's "Scotsman" have two totally different methods of dealing with it. Mr Cameron would sweep away the north block altogether, and build his new hall with four facades; while Mr Hippolyte Blanc would mask his behind the existing facade of the block— preserved, or even further beautified by the addition of a portico 100 feet long. The first proposal is open to all the objections urged above, and has the additional objection of enormous costliness; while, with regard to the second, with all possible respect for Mr Blanc's judgement as architect and as citizen, I cannot see how such a patchwork sort of compromise would work. It would not be fair to the architect of the new hall to forbid him any facade at all, and it would not be fair to Adam's work to reduce it to a mere frontispiece, or to add a portico he never intended.

The plea that Charlotte Square is already spoiled is worth a word. That such an argument can be brought forward may serve as a useful reminder to those who have personal control over fine specimens of architecture. By cutting them about in detail to suit their own convenience or fancy, they furnish a weapon to the enemy when there is a proposal to sweep them away altogether. Charlotte Square is, however, by no manner of means "spoiled" to the extent some would have us believe, though like other buildings over which time has passed, these houses have suffered somewhat of harm. To pull them down now lest haply they should take further harm in future years, would be as absurd as proceeding as for one to have his head chopped off lest some day he should fall and bruise his forehead. In order to secure the buildings from harm in the future, the only measure I know to be practicable is an appeal to public opinion. Such an appeal to citizens to show a loyal respect for the treasures handed down to them from the past, will come with a new force when the Town Council have decided that they will add here to the principles laid down in their previous report, and refuse to sanction the proposed interference with one of the best architectural features of the city.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown

The Scotsman, 15 April 1897.

THE USHER HALL SITE

University of Edinburgh, April 14, 1897.

Sir,— The recently issued report of the majority of the sub-committee of the Lord Provost's Committee of the Town Council is far from carrying the likelihood of a decision in its favour by the Town Council at large, but as the document is now at last before us, I would crave leave to examine briefly the arguments contained in its last paragraph but one. Objectors to the Charlotte Square site are therein warned that they must not oppose it unless they fulfil two conditions, one easy and the other impossible. The easy one is to point out another site equally eligible. Such can be found either at the Canal Basin, the possibilities of which have obviously not been exhausted, or at the present Music Hall, the eligibility of which is far greater than that of Charlotte Square, since the town could secure it without having to meet the opposition of a powerful section of the public. The impossible condition is to point out how the design of Charlotte Square (or, I may add, the design of any other building, public or private, in the country) is as a matter of rigid law to be preserved in perpetuity. It is chimerical to suppose that an absolute law could be passed, now or at any period, forbidding alterations in Charlotte Square for all time to come. All that could have been done when the feus were given out was to establish a servitude like that over the back-greens, putting it into the power of some constituted authority to veto any proposed change. If this had been done we should have the old problem again, *quis custodiet ipsos custodies*. The Dean of Guild Court would be the natural body for the purpose, but the present Dean of Guild actually seconded, in its primary and worst form, this proposal to ruin the north block of Charlotte Square. The Dean of Guild is the last of all the public officials from whom such action was to be expected, and this inclines one to think that our buildings are safer in the hands of their present owners than in those of public bodies.

The report draws a ludicrous picture of the Charlotte Square proprietors going mad one after another and "removing their houses one by one" to replace them by eccentricities, and asks how we are to prevent such a contingency. I answer that there is one thing fully sufficient to prevent it, and that is common-sense, while the common-sense of the owners will be sustained by the opinion of the public that the architecture of the Square is of great value, and of a value that depends largely on its uniformity. The Town Council should strengthen and guide public opinion in a matter of this kind, and induce in owners a more lively sense of their responsibility towards the beautiful buildings under their control. Instead of this, if the Town Council adopted this wretchedly pusillanimous paragraph of the report, it would be really helping to lower, in place of raising, the tone of public opinion, and this "debasing of the moral currency" I trust the Town Council will decline to be a party.

The fate which is supposed to threaten the buildings of Charlotte Square is that of being gradually converted from dwelling-houses to business premises. I, for one, see nothing very terrible in the outlook. As a fact, the worst harm that has been done as yet to the houses concerns the drawing-rooms and the nurseries. Ladies, I fear (not, of course, all of them, but those who wear egret plumes), will do a great deal for the sake of fashion, and they have in many cases cut down their drawing-room windows through the string-course, which ought to have formed their base – an architectural sin which probably sits but lightly on the feminine

conscience. Upstairs the babies, of course, want high ceilings to their nurseries, and this has led to sundry dilations and excrescences in these upper regions at which one naturally grumbles, since there is plenty of scope for alterations at the back of the houses, without injury to the facades. Now, as business firms have neither wives nor children, nor, I may add, spare cash to spend in fancy building, the houses would be tolerably (not, of course, completely) safe in their hands. Some of the best Adam houses in Queen Street are occupied by business men, who have not “removed and replaced” them, and who take the greatest pride in their beautiful interior decorations. The Royal Bank ensconced itself comfortably enough in the private house at the east of St Andrew Square, without injury to that excellent specimen of the work of Sir W. Chambers. Look at Waterloo Place. It is entirely given up to business, yet the architectural composition has not suffered. The only substantial injury is an ugly stone portico and this – a significant circumstance – was the work of a public body – the Gas Commissioners. But even if Charlotte Square is destined to receive more injuries in the next century than it has received in the one now closing, it would still be substantially what it is now – a fine architectural composition from a good period and a great designer. It would have to suffer a great deal more than it is really at all likely to suffer before we should be resigned to parting with it. That old lion must have got very dead indeed before we should prefer to it the living dog that “our own architect” is ready to put up in its place.

Let us look this matter fairly in the face. The Charlotte Square proposal is opposed, not unanimously – heaven preserve us from expecting unanimity on any question concerning the Usher Hall – but, on the lowest computation, by a very substantial majority of those who have a claim to be heard on an aesthetic question; and now is the time for such to bring their views in a suitable form before the Town Council. Behind the above we have the proprietors, who, it is understood, are prepared to resist the proposal in Parliament, and who would be backed up by the majority just mentioned. The circumstances of the moment that explain to us who are on the spot the hasty decision arrived at in the sub-committee would not be taken into consideration for a moment in a Parliamentary Committee, and it is simply incredible that such a Committee would grant the site in face of an opposition so powerful – and opposition backed up, moreover, by the Town Council’s own weighty report of last October, in which the site was considered and rejected as contravening the fundamental principles which that report was careful to lay down. This seems to me to point to a more real difficulty that faces members of the Town Council and the bogie that is dressed up for their intimidation in the report.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 6 July 1898.

USHER HALL SITE

Edinburgh, July 5, 1898.

Sir,— The best solution of this long-vexed question is hinted at in the closing sentence of the Lord Provost's speech in the meeting upon this question yesterday. There is only one objection of any importance to the site in the West Meadows – the only site at present before the public – and this is the encroachment on an existing open space. That there is real weight in this objection is sufficiently shown by the fact that in the excellent report issued when the Castle Terrace site was recommended, it was laid down in the principle that encroachment of the kind was not to be allowed. The edge is, however, taken from the objection if some compensation can be given elsewhere for the ground taken. The site of the Cattle Market, mentioned by the Lord Provost, would supply the exact compensation required. If the West Meadows site is accepted, and it is made part of the scheme that measures shall be taken to acquire the Cattle Market within a reasonable time for a new open space as an equivalent for the ground now withdrawn, a most satisfactory solution of the present difficulty will be arrived at.

I am, &c

G. Baldwin Brown

The Scotsman, 3 July 1899.

THE MID-LOTHIAN COUNTY BUILDINGS

University of Edinburgh, July 1, 1899.

Sir,— I do not know if the public of Edinburgh realises that one of its characteristic monuments is in danger of disappearing from view. The County Buildings, by Archibald Elliot, at the corner of George IV. Bridge and the Lawnmarket, though not one of the most important buildings of the city, is recognised as being an extremely good specimen of the neo-classic style for which Edinburgh is justly renowned, while the Ionic portico on its eastern face may even be said to be famous. Nothing, it is understood, has yet been settled about the scheme for rebuilding that the County Council has under consideration, but it may involve the destruction of Elliott's work and the substitution for it of a new structure altogether. Seeing that the majority of the Mid-Lothian County Council would hardly claim to be judges of architectural questions, and are not even citizens of Edinburgh, it does seem right that the city in general should take some cognisance of the matter. It should be impossible for a monument of such artistic value to be dealt with as if it were a mere utilitarian structure, that may be cut and carved about as convenience seems to suggest, and I believe that if we show that we value aright our architectural inheritance from the past, this question may be adjusted in a manner satisfactory alike to the Council and to the city at large.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

Cockburn Association, 7 July 1899.

MIDLOTHIAN COUNTY BUILDINGS

Letter drafted by Baldwin Brown.

Edinburgh, 7 July 1899

Dear Sir

Cockburn Association

At a meeting of the Council of the Association held here today, I was directed to write to you in the following terms:-

The Council of the Cockburn Association while disdaining any desire to interfere with the action of the Midlothian County Council in regard to their building scheme wishes to point out that the existing County Building is one of considerable historical and artistic value. It reflects a phase in the architectural history of Edinburgh when designs were inspired by the remains of classical antiquity and when these models were at times followed more closely than would accord with the practice of the Architects of today. The designer of the County Buildings was influenced in his general scheme by the Erechtheum at Athens and one part of the present structure, the Ionic Portico on its eastern face, is a copy with some modification of the Southern Portico of the Athenian Temple. As the Erechtheum, which is now in ruins, is acknowledged to be one of the most beautiful architectural monuments in the world, and as Elliot's work is carefully executed in the very fine masonry for which Edinburgh of that period is justly celebrated, the Council of the Cockburn Association feels that it cannot be wrong in calling attention to the value of the structure. The Council is confident that a due sense of that value will form an element, and an important element, in the decision of the Midlothian County Council on the question which will shortly come up for settlement.

I am

Yours Faithfully

Signed: Victor A. Noel Paton
Secretary

The Times, 17 October 1899

THE PROPOSED RESTORATION OF THE CATHEDRAL AT IONA

Sir.- A few days ago the Scottish papers contained the announcement that the Duke of Argyll has generously handed over to trustees representing the Church of Scotland the site and the monuments of the monastery at Iona. Seeing that Iona is to a great extent the mother of Scottish, and through Lindisfarne of English, and hence of American, Christianity the place is one of such general interest that it is the concern of all English-speaking people. I venture, therefore, to ask permission to call attention in your columns to certain of the provisions of the trust that cannot but be regarded with apprehension.

The donor of the monuments declares it to be his wish "that the cathedral shall be reroofed and restored so as to admit of its being used for public worship," and, while this public worship is to be in the main that of the Church of Scotland, the trustees are asked occasionally to allow "the members of other Christian Churches to hold services within the said cathedral." One cannot help feeling it to be unfortunate that the trustees should be in this way committed at the outset to a policy of "restoration" about which there will inevitably be much difference of opinion. The present letter is not dictated by a feeling of opposition on principle to all restoration. Each case of the kind should be considered on its own merits, and it must be admitted that circumstances may arise when such measures seem to be called for to meet the needs of a growing population or for other reasons of some substantial weight. No such reason exists in the present case. The resident population of the island is very small – the last census gives it at 247 – and the services, if held at all, would be only of an occasional kind. Unfortunately such services as might be arranged by the various Christian bodies that claim the Columban succession would inevitably have something of a controversial character, and on this ground are really not greatly to be desired. Hence there is nothing which need stand in the way of a protest, in the name both of sentiment and of art, against the suggested "restoration" of the cathedral. The building in question, though not very early, has about it some very beautiful detail of an uncommon character, and both it and the rest of the ruined structures on the site possess a charm in exact accordance with the whole scene and its associations. One knows only too well what restoration may mean, and it is not unlikely that if the restorer works his will upon the cathedral there may follow a demand from a general rejuvenation of the whole group of structures, the consequences of which one would rather not contemplate. Is it too late to appeal to the public-spirited donor and to the trustees to reconsider this proposal, which, if carried out, may result in irreparable injury to one of the most sacred spots in these islands?

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 4 June 1900.

THE PROPOSED RESTORATION OF IONA CATHEDRAL

Sir, – There can be but one opinion of the value of the gift of the buildings at Iona made by the late Duke of Argyll to the Church of Scotland, and of the obligation that rests on that body to receive and cherish it with all gratitude and care. It is most deplorable, however, that the trustees appear to stand committed to a scheme of “restoration,” which is open to every possible objection that can be urged against this way of treating mediaeval buildings. The ruins at Iona should, of course, be properly preserved, and as to this, there are experts who could give the trustees independent and disinterested advice, but the modernising of the principal church, though it may seem demanded by a pious regard for the personal wish of the donor, is very greatly to be deprecated.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 10 January 1903.

THE QUEENSFERRY TRAMWAY

Sir, – The Town Council will no doubt consider that the project of an electric tramway along the Queensferry Road with very great care, and will take into account the exceptional nature of Edinburgh as a city, and, I may add, the exceptional character of the Queensferry Road. The electric tramways that are now carried far out along the western roads from London may be unmixed blessings, and the same may apply to numerous other systems that traverse roads leading from our great centres of population into the country; but in the case of a tramway of the kind over the Dean Bridge and along the Queensferry Road, I am of the opinion that any benefits the line would confer would be purchased at a very great price, and I doubt if we should be wise in paying it. To take one point only, the Dean Bridge is one of the best works of its kind the country has to show. Will it be proposed to widen this after the fashion in which the old North Bridge was widened the generation back? I trust that, whatever decision is come to on this project as a whole, the Town Council will not allow the Dean Bridge to be altered except in accordance with the very best architectural advice that can be obtained.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 23 May 1903.

RESTORATION AT IONA

May 22, [1903].

Sir, – Is it too late for the authorities of the Church of Scotland to reconsider this profitless and risky project for the restoration of Iona! It is admitted that there is no scheme according to which the restored buildings can be made of any practical service, and this fact deprives the project of one plea that might be urged in its favour. When there is a distinct religious purpose which a ruined ecclesiastical building might serve and a purpose that cannot be so suitably served in other ways, then there come into considerations of great moment in favour of restoration. Only the fanatical anti—restorer would resist such works as those at Dunblane, Paisley, or Hexham. In the case of Iona, on the other hand, there is no such practical purpose in view, and, indeed, the project was apparently due to certain private desires and apprehensions which do not seem to have much in them, and with which the public have little concern. Hence all the arguments which have been urged for the last fifty years against needless tinkering of our ruined mediaeval buildings hold here their full validity. Of course, the ruined buildings of Iona, like all other monuments of the kind, should be carefully watched, and should be preserved according to means now well understood, on which the Trustees could obtain expert advice from independent sources. One stands aghast, however, at some of the phrases in the report of the Trustees, who are apparently prepared with light hearts to embark on one of those extensive campaigns of restoration, against which the experience of the last half-century furnishes us with so many warnings. Some of the following phrases ring of the bad old times: – “the walls urgently required to be pointed outside and repaired inside, and the floor had to be laid as much in the style of the original as possible. After this, much remained to be done, and the trustees, with the view of carrying out a faithful restoration, in order to preserve the buildings and hand them down to posterity in as nearly as possible their original form, were about to obtain from their architects a comprehensive scheme, the details of which they hoped, soon to make public.” Common sense as well as art protest against all the money being spent in the transformation of the Iona we know and loved, and the substitution of something “in as nearly as possible the original form.” The old buildings of Iona are of considerable intrinsic beauty, and of still greater romantic interest and charm. Like all the works of man they are perishing, but very slowly, and they cannot be entirely saved. A great value still remains to them, and there is a serious risk that this may be destroyed by the proposed “faithful restoration.”

The question is not with the past, or one would doubt the ingenuousness of the statement that the trustees “had done what was universally knowledge to be by those capable of judgement well done.” For as a matter of fact the recent work has been rather sharply criticised. What we are concerned with now is the future, and I would appeal to the good sense of the trustees and of the public against any further prosecution of this unfortunate scheme. The Scottish Ecclesiological Society would be doing better service by safeguarding the unique treasure of the Iona of ten years ago, than by indulging in any excessive dreams of a forceful restoration of half the mediaeval ruins of Scotland.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 26 May 1903.

IONA

Sir.-“Breach of trust” is a formidable phrase, but it is surely obvious that no legal obligation can rest on trustees to carry out a donor’s wish when its fulfilment depends on securing voluntary contributions from the public. As I read the deed of trust, the only obligation involved is a moral or personal one, and I have yet to learn that such obligation compels trustees to act against the public interest. Had they at the outset obtained an independent report, this could have been made the basis of negotiations with the donor involving a dispassionate review of the whole situation. At the present juncture again such a consideration is perfectly feasible, and would involve none of the terrors of the law.

I read with great pleasure the letter of the president of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society, and am glad that he takes the view that in many cases a better use can be made of a mediaeval ruin than restoring it. The Society will do good work in helping to chasten the exuberance of many excellent people who cry out, “Here is a ruined church, let us restore it to the glory of God.” The glory of God is manifested in the sense of beauty and the sympathetic touch. He gave to the mediaeval craftsmen just as much as in the costly fane reared by modern hands for His worship. By all means let us provide for the service of religion new churches as noble and as beautifully fitted and adorned as we can, but let us at the same time recognise that old work, untouched save by time, has an artistic and a poetic value which are bound to be marred by the juxtaposition of new work, even when carefully treated, as at Dunblane. I cannot, I confess, see the practical need for restored buildings at Iona, and to my mind the place is best let alone in the beauty and the associations that have given it its unique charm.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 27 May 1903.

IONA

May 26, [1903]

Sir. – Some of Mr Fitzroy Bell's statements in the first paragraph of his letter are not correct. I am well acquainted with the facts, and laid my views before the Trustees at the very outset on the basis of the deed of trust which I have had before me all along. My letter, which appears on the same page as his (and in which, by the way, the stop should be omitted before the words "He gave the mediaeval craftsmen"), renders any further reply to him unnecessary.

One matter of general interest may claim a word. While a proprietor retains his hold on his property he can do as he pleases with it, but at the same time he is always amenable to public opinion, and may at any time on reason shown reconsider his procedure. A situation opposed to the public interest is created when it is made possible by a stroke of a lawyer's pen to fix irrevocably for all time the way in which some monument, perhaps of national or even universal interest like this of Iona, shall be treated. The ultimate sanction and check in our various proceedings in Britain is public opinion, and to bar in perpetuity the action of this salutary power in a matter of this kind is clearly against the common interest. This is a danger to which those anxious for the wise treatment of our architectural heritage from the past are perhaps not fully alive. I have already given reasons for my belief that the present case does not fall exactly under this heading.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

PLANS FOR THE USHER HALL

Under the auspices of the Edinburgh Citizens' and Ratepayers' Union, a public meeting of citizens "who consider that competitive plans should be invited for the construction of the Usher Hall" was held yesterday afternoon...

Mr Will, C. Smith K.C., moved "That this meeting of citizens strongly disapproves of the proposal of the Town Council to entrust the preparation of the plans for the Usher Hall to the City Architect, and urges that competitive plans be invited therefor; and that an independent assessor of undoubted standing be appointed to adjudicate upon them."....

Professor Baldwin Brown, who seconded the resolution, said that as a matter of fact competitions for designs had recently led to no very satisfactory result, but that this was because the honourable understanding upon which these competitions were based and intended to be carried on had not been fully implemented. The game had not been played according to the rules. It was not a perfect system, and a Committee of the Institute of British Architects were considering whether it could be improved; but he did not know any other system which gave any young and untried architect his chance. The site was in a magnificent situation, but it was obvious that it did not offer an opportunity such as it would if the building were on the open Meadows. At any rate, there was a facade to Castle Terrace, in full view of a considerable part of Princes Street. If it were only that, he would feel pretty confident in handing over the work to the excellent architects in the office of the Works Department of the city, because in these matters they had a tradition in Edinburgh. He did not think any architect could go very far wrong if he followed the Edinburgh tradition in monumental facade, but they had to consider the interior, where questions of colour, wall painting, and decoration, and material had to be considered. The public taste and artists' opportunities had very much advanced. They wanted an architect of genius who would set the fashion for the future, who would show what it was possible to do in an interior, with the use of the comparatively new material which was now available. With all possible respect to the Works Department, he should not like to say that there was there either genius or originality. He did not think genius and originality were in their place in the Town Council or in any department of it. (Laughter.) As a matter of principle, they should express the opinion that in a matter of that kind, which lay entirely outside the routine work of the Town Council, the members of the architectural profession generally should have their chance of showing what they were capable of doing. (Applause.)

The Scotsman, 8 January 1904.

USHER HALL PLANS.

University of Edinburgh, January 7.

Sir.-There is no intention in this letter to re-open old controversies on the above subject, but merely to point out that the proposal to throw out a terrace in front of the hall, in the direction of King's Stables Road, introduces a new factor into the situation which concerns the citizens at large. It may be regarded at present only as a suggestion that may never be seriously considered, or still less ultimately adopted, by the Town Council; but it is well to note that it would involve a distinct alteration in the existing configuration of the landscape dominated by the Castle Rock. At present the ground descends from the Castle ramparts in a pleasant sweep to the bottom of the valley along which runs the King's Stables Road, and rises again in a corresponding slope to the level of Castle Terrace. This marked depression is essential to the full effect of the Castle, and it will be remembered that public opinion unanimously disapproved of the suggestion to fill up this depression by building the hall across the King's Stables Road. The proposed [], which would project almost to the middle of the valley, seems to be a revival, of course in a less objectionable form, of the same project. I venture to think that anyone who considers the site as a whole, thinking as he should do, in the first place, of the Castle, will be disposed to deprecate the suggested alteration in the existing features of this most picturesque part of the city.

I am, etc.

G. Baldwin Brown.

Berwick Journal, 19 May 1904.

THE PRESERVATION OF BERWICK TOWN WALLS

University of Edinburgh, May, 14.

Sir.—The history of Berwick-upon-Tweed is so intimately connected with events of monumental importance to both England and Scotland, that a stranger may be pardoned for intervening in favour of the relics in which that history may still be read. Berwick is justly proud of the noble Elizabethan Walls of the restricted circuit, but the remains of the older and more extended enceinte are of still greater historical importance, for they are proof of the wide area of the city in the medieval period, when it was apparently half as large again as in the time of Elizabeth. There are, of course, remains of this enceinte on the river-side, near the Castle, and in other parts, but the portion to the west and east of the Bell Tower, where the external ditch is still well marked, and there are good specimens of the older medieval masonry, is one of the most important and interesting sections of the whole circuit. Some of the remains carry us back to the stormy period when the city was struggled for by contending Kingdoms as the “Gate of the North,” when Edward I. sat therein to dispose of the Crown of Scotland, and his successor mustered there his host before one of the most epoch-making battles in British history. The creation in those days of a distinct Scottish nationality was of incalculable importance for the future history of the British race, and of these great events, with which Berwick was so closely connected, the old fortifications of the then widely-extended town are a still living witness. Surely one of the first things a Berwick child should learn is the place in the national history held by the town, and it is painful to think that some of these children are being educated at a school built by obliterating a part of the monumental evidence of that very history. Old plans of Berwick show the ancient line still preserved the whole way from the Castle to the north-east corner of the enceinte, where is the projecting bastion or fort. At the present time a considerable part of this line at the western end has been obliterated and built-over, and this process is still going on, so that the visitor to-day watches with something like indignation the process of filling up the fosse of this historical line with rubbish! One can hardly believe it is possible that the destruction is planned to go on nearly to the Bell Tower. Were this plan carried out, how long would the ancient fragment east and north-east of the Bell Tower remain? And when modern buildings surround and almost bury the Bell Tower, this last survivor of the numerous Towers of the enceinte will not itself seem worth safeguarding. Future generations will have to spell out from old maps historical features of the town, that should have been preserved as one of its most precious possessions.

It may be said that the ditch is unsightly, and the fragments of masonry small and isolated – but the ditch is only unsightly because it has been disgracefully used as a refuse pit, and the smaller and fewer the medieval fragments the more binding is the duty of preserving them to posterity as the permanent witness of the past. As a fact, however, the portion of old masonry that still keeps its excellent ashlar facing is by no means an insignificant relic, but one of much intrinsic value and interest, and it would be sheer vandalism to destroy it. The most satisfactory method of dealing with the remains of the kind is that adopted, amongst other places, at Colchester, where on one side of the town the Roman Wall is preserved as the main feature of a small park or pleasure ground. The strip of

land along the enceinte of Berwick, from the new house now in building, past the Bell Tower and the corner fort or bastion, would lend itself admirably to such a treatment, and if the Town Council and the body of Freemen for whom they are trustees would on patriotic grounds set it apart for public use, one feels sure that assistance from the public would be forthcoming to help to lay out the site as a perpetual adornment for the town. The Town Councillors are no doubt in a fiduciary position in regard to those who have actual rights of property in the ground, but they are also in a larger sense trustees for the public at large, and they have in their keeping the good name of the town. Surely in dealing with a monument of such antiquarian importance they will give weight to the fact that people in every part of Great Britain have heard of the Walls of Berwick-upon-Tweed, and very many have seen and admired them, and that all these would hear with surprise and pain that the oldest and most interesting portion of the medieval fortifications had been sacrificed for the sake of some comparatively small pecuniary gain.

We shall do well in these days to remember that England is visited more and more every year by our Colonists and our kinsmen from across the Atlantic, and that there is nothing these visitors take more interest in than the historical sites and monuments of the old country. These places and buildings of antiquarian and artistic interest are valuable assets of the communities that possess them, so that there are business considerations, as well as those of a sentimental kind, which should help to stop this denuding of our old cities of features which form their attraction to strangers. Once, destroyed, these relics can never be restored, they are lost forever, and a very serious responsibility rests on all those who have them in charge. The case of the Berwick Town Walls is a conspicuous case, and a confident hope may be expressed that in dealing with it the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed may set an example for good to the country at large.

I am, etc.

G. Baldwin Brown.

Scotsman, 14 July 1904

OLD EDINBURGH: THE SECRETS OF ITS CHARM

Professor Baldwin Brown delivered a lecture on "Old Edinburgh: the Secret of its Charm, and how to preserve it," in St Cuthbert's Hall, King's Stables Road, Edinburgh, last night.

Lord Provost Sir Robert Cranston, occupied the chair, and amongst those on or near the platform were Sir William Turner, Sir John M. Clark, Bart; Sir James Balfour Paul, Bishop Dowden, Bailie Gibson, Bailie Dobie, Dr John Trail, Professors Rankine and Hunter Stewart, Mr William C. Smith, K.C.; Councillors Hunter and Smith Elliot, the Rev. Dr Craig, Mr W. B. Laikie, Mr Hew Morrison, LL.D.; Mr J. B Sutherland, S.S.C.; Mr W. Hole, R.S.A.; Mr R.R. Simpson, and Mr Gilbert Goudie. The hall was crowded with ladies and gentlemen.

Sir Robert Cranston, in introducing the lecturer, said he took the large audience as a compliment to Professor Baldwin Brown. It was also a compliment to see so many people taking an interest in the attractions of the city, and on behalf of those administering the affairs of the city he thanked them most cordially. (Applause).

Professor Baldwin Brown began by explaining that he did not intend to speak of the Edinburgh of world-famous monuments, such as the Castle or Holyrood or St Giles', but rather of the Edinburgh of the smaller picturesque features, which singly were of minor importance, though in combination they imparted to the streets their special physiognomy. By these were meant the divisions and groupings of the masses of the older houses and their rugged masonry; the frequent gables, the dormer windows with their carved finials, the timber projections, the rough stone slating, the harling, the moulded doorways and inscribed lintels, all of which helped to impart such a pleasant old world aspect to the more ancient thoroughfares. The secret of the charm of Edinburgh resided partly in the natural features of the site, and partly in the general architectural treatment of the site, with the effective contrast between the classic regularity of the New Town and the picturesque confusion of the crowded and towering "lands" of the Old. It was the latter features that formed the main subject of the lecture. These older architectural relics, with the historical associations which gathered so thickly around them, were among the attractions of Edinburgh which intelligent strangers found of especial interest. They were in this sense civic assets that had really a commercial as well as an artistic and historical value. Their preservation was from all points of view a matter of importance, for it must be remembered that they were a class of possessions which, when once destroyed, could never again be restored.

The question how to deal with the older parts of the city, so as to retain as far as practicable its ancient charm, was one requiring serious attention. In all large

towns there were improvement schemes in progress, and these were commonly preceded by wholesale clearances. In most towns the older property thus eliminated had no value, and was often already in a tumble-down condition. In Edinburgh, on the contrary, the older houses, dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were as a general rule solid stone structures, many of which might stand for centuries, and they possessed the artistic and historical value already referred to. For their preservation it was worth while taking a good deal of trouble, and even facing some immediate outlay, which, if Edinburgh retained all her attractions to visitors, would soon be repaid. It was a matter for congratulation that a policy of wise conservation was now in the ascendant in that department of municipal government which had this matter in charge. The "Old Lands" might have to be gutted and their interior spaces redistributed, but the matter of importance for the charm of old Edinburgh was the judicious reparation and preservation of the external fabric. Some excellent instances of the carrying out of this policy would be afterwards shown on the screen. It might be hoped that this would be the established policy for the future, both on the part of the city and on the part of corporate bodies and private individuals, who were holders of property in the older parts of the town. Whether or not the civic authorities should be armed with certain powers in respect to private property of artistic and historical value was a further question on which it was not possible then to enter. Abroad, in old cities of the class of Edinburgh, such powers were being sought and acquired, and though in Great Britain there was at the moment nothing of the kind, Edinburgh might well take the lead, as she had done on previous occasions, in making the needful application to Parliament. They were fortunate in having as Lord Provost an Edinburgh citizen who yielded to no one in his affection for his native town, and who was sincerely anxious that she should continue to attract from all parts of the world the lovers of beauty and romance, both in nature and in art. (Applause.) They were really now at the parting of the ways. Enough remained of the ancient beauties of the town to make the term "Old Edinburgh" still a word to conjure with, but if much more were allowed needlessly to perish, the town was in danger of becoming hopelessly modernised. The matter was ultimately in the hands of the citizens at large, and it was for them to determine how best to deal with the heritage that had descended to them from the past. He was not a fanatic on the subject of preservation; all they wanted was that they should preserve everything that could possibly and reasonably be preserved. (Applause.)

There were then thrown upon the screen a number of photographs illustrating both the grander and the more homely features of the older Edinburgh architecture, and, in conclusion, it was pointed out that though more than eighty views had been shown, no one of the more famous monuments of the city had been included in the survey. The minor or secondary features of Old Edinburgh had proved sufficient in themselves to fill the time allotted. This gave an idea of the richness of interest which the city was able to provide. Some of the slides, it was explained, had been kindly leant by the survey section of the Edinburgh Photographic Society.

Bishop Dowden proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer for his charming lecture. Professor Baldwin Brown had helped to interpret to them something of the charm of Old Edinburgh, and had inspired with a resolve that in so far as in them lay they would do their best to prevent that charm from being infringed upon or destroyed. (Applause.)

The Lord Provost, in conveying to Professor Baldwin Brown the thanks of the meeting, said he was sure that half of them there that night had not before the meeting known all the facts that he been [b]rought before them. In regard to the preservation of the property, the Town Council had, of course, to be guided at times by the Medical Officer of Health, who might say of some properties – ‘Away with them.’ The Council were as anxious as anybody could be to protect the old buildings of Edinburgh, but that they had also to consider the health of the city. (Hear Hear.) And they were also extremely anxious to keep down the rates. (Laughter.) But the assessments of the city were increasing rapidly, and that might yet permit of their investing money in such things as Professor Baldwin Brown required. For what they could not preserve in the buildings, the best place was the City Museum. (Applause.) The members of the Town Council were all open to criticism, and wanted assistance of criticism, but not anonymous letters. (Applause.)

Professor Baldwin Brown, having returned thanks,

Sir William Turner proposed a vote of thanks to the Lord Provost for presiding. As to the particular subject of the address, the fact that they had come to hear Professor Baldwin Brown indicated that they all had a desire that the charm of Edinburgh of which he had spoken should be preserved; and he felt sure that so long as Sir Robert Cranston occupied the civic chair that his feeling would always be to preserve what it was possible to keep. (Applause)

The meeting thereafter terminated.

The Scotsman, 15 July, 1904.

OLD EDINBURGH

University of Edinburgh, July 14, 1904.

Sir,— Will you allow me to say, in answer to some inquiries, that in speaking last night from the architectural standpoint of sundry old Edinburgh houses, I merely adopted the traditional names for readiness of identification. I am only too well aware that there is very seldom any real evidence for these popular attributions, and I only spoke of “Gordon House,” “Huntly House,” “Adam Bothwell’s House,” “John Knox’s House,” &c., for the sake of convenience. I do not vouch for the correctness of any of the names.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

Scotsman, August 17, 1904.

THE CARE OF HISTORICAL CITIES AT HOME

Some notice has already been given of the treatment this subject is receiving abroad, especially amongst those interested in the older towns of Germany. The bond of connection among those who in all civilised countries are taking part in this movement is their recognition of the principle that a community with its material environment is not a thing merely of the present. It has a past and a future, from the one of which should be preserved all that is of lasting value, while for the other preparation should be made in a wise and far-seeing spirit. The question comes to this — What is it to mean in time to come to be “a citizen of no mean city?” Is it to imply only that one’s city is big and growing and busy, handsome and well-groomed and fully equipped, and easy to get about it? Or will it carry with it a sense of the dignity of civic life that has developed through twenty generations, and a pride in the streets and buildings which were the scene of doings, the haunts of personalities, that may have made the city famous throughout the civilised world? And, again, is the future of a city to be in great part a thing of chance, or is the community to prepare beforehand, as it were, its own habitation by laying out new districts on lines of general utility, and by exercising restraint on the actions of individuals, when these will in time bear fruits of a public kind? In this country we are well supplied with societies as well as individuals who are working on the lines indicated. Less is done here than abroad by legislation or direct ministerial rescripts, though in a quieter fashion much good has been accomplished, and still more may be hoped for, within the domain of a judiciously manned Office of Works. On the other hand, complaints are sometimes made that municipal authorities in this country are indifferent to appeals to a generous civic pride and sense of continuity with the bygone days, and are too fond of putting aside what are after all serious considerations with a facetious reference to ratepayers or the sanitary inspector. They may justify this attitude on the ground that they only in this matter reflect public opinion. It is unfortunate that there exists a low tone of feeling on this subject among public bodies that represent the average opinion of the country, for of all parts of Europe Britain is the place where most attention should be paid to the preservation of ancient memorials. There is a reason for this that should appeal at this juncture to the minds of all. The events of the last few years have done much to foster a unity of feeling among the different sections of the English-speaking race. Now there is one thing which Great Britain possesses that is not shared by her colonies or the United States, and this is the evidence of a historic past. We ourselves have grown up among these memorials, and take them as a matter of course, but to our kinsfolk from across the seas they are objects of extreme interest. Whatever may be the future in other respects of the mother country, it must always remain the soil in which are rooted all the traditional memories of the race. Britain is the land of the palace and the castle, of the town hall and market cross, of the cathedral and the country church, institutions which have behind them a continuous history of a thousand years, and around which the nation has grown strong enough to flourish itself and to send forth branches that cover the earth. Scotland, apart from its older memorials that carry back to so remote an epoch the history of our common religion, is full of monumental records of the wild but strenuous medieval life of foray and siege, while Edinburgh streets and squares still recall the spirited intellectual society of a century ago. These memories are of incalculable advantage in keeping alive

throughout the Empire the sense of unity of the race, while anyone who has taken American acquaintances round Old Edinburgh knows how the consciousness of a still ampler solidarity is evoked by the antique historic scenes. These relics of the past are one of our Imperial assets, and on economic, almost on political, grounds the duty of safeguarding them might well be recognised even by the least artistic and least antiquarian of the population. Yet it is a fact that, unless ceaseless vigilance be exercised, acts of senseless waste and vandalism, like the threatened destruction of the Edwardian walls of Berwick, may be committed every day.

The case of Edinburgh as a historical city may be treated as typical, and what is said of Edinburgh could be repeated for numerous places in all parts of these islands wherein old memories centre. A remark is sometimes made to the effect that the ancient features of Edinburgh are already so far destroyed that it is not worth while troubling about what remains. Anyone, however, who will spend a couple of hours perambulating the older parts of the town will see that this excuse for indifference will not hold. No doubt, Edinburgh, like most other old European cities of the kind, has lost enormously both as regards to its general aspect, its "stadtbild," and the antique character of the streets, its "strassenbild." We have partly filled up our main valley, and have pushed out solid causeways across the others, instead of spanning them by light viaducts, which would have left to the site its ancient configuration. We destroyed the old West Bow and Leith Wynd for the sake of facilitating traffic. Very little wheeled traffic, however, passes up and down the thoroughfare for which the West Bow was demolished, and there would surely have been some means of providing for this in another fashion. The rather desolate character of the Cranston and Jeffrey Street neighbourhood suggests whether the total obliteration of a historical thoroughfare and the holocaust of fine old houses sacrificed to this improvement really represents good civic economy. It is worth while thinking for a moment what would have been the effect on Edinburgh as a place of beauty, of business, and of resort, could the old West Bow have been retained, and reasonable traffic facilities provided in the vicinity. The houses were not frail wooden structures, but they are reported on as "substantial and well-finished stone tenements," like the one or two that still remain, and were capable of a long resistance to the assaults of time. There was abundant variety in their forms and details, and the artistic effect was so enhanced by the turns and the changes of level that were the West Bow in existence to-day it would be quite the most picturesque bit of old street architecture surviving in Western Europe, at any rate nearer than Prague. What this would have meant for the city from the standpoint of its visitors may easily be judged.

Reference is not made to these past transactions for the sake only of lamenting them, but rather with the view of employing them as useful object-lessons for the future. If the city has lost much, it still retains a very large number of its ancient dwellings, and it is in these houses and their groupings and arrangement that the artistic and historical interest of Edinburgh largely consists. The known and nameable monuments that attract the ordinary sightseer we could more easily spare than the general masses of the older houses that in some parts of the town still stand so finely shoulder to shoulder on the crest of a ridge. These houses, the height and massiveness of which have been admired by travellers for hundreds of years, are specially characteristic of Edinburgh. It is true that similar forms and materials were in abundant use in other Scottish towns, but the "lands" of the Capital possess great advantages of position, and an amplitude of scale, which, with the happy accidents of projecting stair-towers, gables, and monumental chimney stalks, give them an architectural

rank that many more ornate modern structures fail to attain. Their material and texture lend to them an antique ruggedness that is full of character and charm. Compare the northern frontage of Milne's Court behind the Free High Church with all the more recent architecture in the vicinity. Has it not a distinction which, to borrow a simile from George Eliot, is like that of a fine quotation from the Bible in a modern newspaper? Furthermore, the city still retains, not indeed intact, but in substantial measure, the great main street and its immediate offshoots. That street, in parts so spacious, yet never losing its character as a street, so direct in its purposeful run from end to end of the town, yet bending sinuously to right and left as if it consciously sought to delight the eye with everchanging vistas, lined as it is with the tall stone "lands," and fringed on either side by clustered dwelling-houses in the courts and closes, is still to-day as it was centuries ago, one of the most notable streets in Europe. It is a far nobler thing as a product of civic life than the monuments with which it begins and ends. The Castle Rock as a natural feature is, of course, superb, but the Castle and Holyrood as show[houses?] have neither of them the distinction and [] of the street itself. It has not only historic interest as the setting for centuries of the life of Edinburgh and in a measure of Scotland, but has preserved so large a proportion of its older buildings on its frontages and in its wynds that its monumental interest is quite as great. Only in one or two sections of it, notably in that between Cockburn Street and the house above John Knox's, has it been hopelessly modernised. In the most of the other sections the old houses predominate, and the new ones escape notice, or, as in the front of James Court, have been judiciously harmonised with the older architecture, and there are long tracts of the extended street, such as that from the Canongate Tolbooth to Holyrood, that are still quite unchanged in character. Another very good section runs from the Royal Exchange to Cockburn Street, where it ends at the corner with a very massive and characteristic "land" that should by every means be preserved. There are many observers, no doubt, to whom such a huge, gaunt, and gloomy-looking tenement presents no very attractive appearance, while those who have more intimately to do with houses of which it is a type know that their internal condition needs from time to time treatment of the most drastic kind. Yet they are, as a rule, structurally solid and possess spacious rooms with ample windows, while, as their fittings often show, they were once the dwellings of the élite of Scottish society. It is in connection with these fine but old-fashioned structures that the problem of wedding the new and the old comes most prominently into view. In many cases the easiest plan will seem to be to sweep the building away and put up something new in its place. This has been done in numberless instances, and it must be admitted that the new work of a generation or two ago often showed a most commendable piety in its effort to retain the general style of the older work. Many more recent buildings are equally to be praised, but at the same time structures to be shuddered at are making their appearance, and there is no security, if things are left to themselves, that a reasonable standard of taste will be maintained. It is far better when it is found possible to maintain the structure of the ancient dwelling, while making any internal changes that convenience and sanitation demand. This has been accomplished with success in the case of some fine old tenements in the Canongate, and it may be hoped that this will be the established principle for the future in dealing with city property. For that in the hands of individuals there is in the meantime no safeguard.

An illustration of our present helplessness in this respect was furnished about eighteen months ago. At that time one of the best of the old houses in the town was up for sale or letting. It was not an ordinary "land," plain though noble, like that at the corner of

Cockburn Street, but an exceptional house, interesting both from the artistic and the historical standpoints, that had been previously rescued from “slum” surroundings and was in excellent condition. Yet there was apparently no power, or at any rate no desire, in official quarters to save that house from the possible fate of a return to its degradation, or of alteration, or even of destruction. Such another case may arise at any moment, and there is no preparation on the part of the town to meet it. Is not the example of the older German cities worth taking into consideration?

These cities have suffered losses as great as our own, but they are wisely taking stock of their possessions and are determined to make the most of what remains to them. Is it not time that Edinburgh followed their example? The notice of motion given the other day in the Town Council about an inventory of our older houses is a step in the right direction, and our municipal museum is a recent institution destined to a fruitful career. It is to be remembered with satisfaction that the Edinburgh Town Council took the lead a few years ago in applying to Parliament for powers *inter alia* to check the abuses of advertisement, which were in advance of what the Committee of the House would recommend. There is much, however, that we still need. Local regulations for building should be enlarged and strengthened along the lines of the German ones noticed in the former paper. The city should be able to control the laying out of new districts that will presently be forming part of the city, and portions of which, the roads, will be actually city property. There should be no more demolitions of frontages to the High Street or the Canongate, and no atrocities in brick and concrete should be permitted in the conspicuous parts of the city. New work on old domestic buildings should not borrow fancy architecture from models of quite a different character, but should accord in style and treatment and material with the mass of structures of the same kind in the vicinity. Builders, when they point an old rubble wall, should be taught not to smear all their superfluous mortar over the ancient stones; and when they plaster a rubble wall they should not rule lines upon it to make it look like squared ashlar. Brick should, where possible, be avoided in the repairs of the chimney stalks and other parts of the old stone houses. These may to some seem trivial matters, but people in other ancient cities are taking pains about these details, and why should we be left behind? There is ample room for the activity of any civic official who may aspire to be known to after time as the preserver of Old Edinburgh, just as Provost Drummond is acclaimed as the creator of the new.

Scotsman, August 19, 1904.

THE CARE OF HISTORICAL CITIES ABROAD

Every body of civilised persons forming a rural or urban community has fashioned for itself a material environment. In olden days this process was a leisurely one. The habitations, the places of meeting, the arrangements for internal convenience and for security, came gradually into being as suited the situation and the needs of the body politic. Each aggregate was self-contained, and influences from outside counted for very little in what was an orderly, inevitable development. In the present day social movements are greatly accelerated; fresh demands and new activities are felt and set in movement every day, while communities that claim to be progressive are sensitive to outside influences which suggest alterations and experiment. "Sanitation," "business facilities," "easy locomotion," represent important considerations that have forced on rapid changes, while the cult of the boulevard, with the uneasy desire to be in all things "up to date," have been responsible for alterations as great, though not always so well advised. The towns of our own country, expanding rapidly with the growth of industry and commerce, have been subjected to this process of change for well nigh a century past; Paris was transformed almost at a stroke under the Second Empire; the metamorphosis of Rome is the work of the last five-and-twenty years: Frankfurt has been born again under the eyes of those who are still young. On the one hand, the expansion of many urban communities has brought wide tracts of what a century ago was open country within municipal limits; while on the other, the demand for broad, level, and straight streets, roomy places of business, imposing frontages, and domestic interiors supplied with the latest apparatus of health and comfort, has led to wholesale demolitions and rebuildings, which have altered out of all knowledge the older parts of many of our historical cities.

It is not to be wondered at that misgivings have arisen in the minds of many as to the wisdom and economy of some of these sweeping changes. Among these many there figure, of course, the enthusiasts, and there is no objection to the occasional outburst of righteous indignation, such as inspired Victor Hugo's famous "*Guerre aux démolisseurs*," with which he confronted the vandals of the restored French monarchy. But amongst those who counsel in this matter [of] reverence and care there are also representatives of organised sanity in the persons of members of legislative bodies, of the learned professions, and of great business firms. In Edinburgh a senator of the College of Justice has become a should mention though that I'm away Tuesday and Wednesday so it is an email on Wednesday as possible and get through quickly so you are not sure you do know I don't recall ever received a joint project will the strategy sort of patron saint, under whose cognisance those have fought who have been most active in defence of the natural and architectural beauties of the city. Nowhere has the adherence of sober men of weight and experience to this movement of defence been more marked than in Germany. No European country, indeed, offers such instructive material for the study of the question at issue as Germany. The internal union which resulted from the war of 1870-1 was followed by an immense development of commercial activity. The greater German towns began rapidly to enlarge their limits and modernise their outward appearance. Anyone who remembers Cologne when the city was still confined within its medieval enceinte and who spends a few hours to-day in its electric tramcars receives an object lesson in city expansion of a most striking kind. Thoughtful and patriotic citizens who saw the traditional aspect of cities of the fatherland dissolving before their eyes were

wounded in their historic sense and in their affection for home. From this has arisen a powerful movement, dating from about five years back, the tendency of which may be summed up in the word recently adopted as the title of a patriotic society—"Heimatschütz," or "The Defence of Home." As our neighbours across the North Sea are nothing if not systematic, they have taken up and discussed these questions with characteristic thoroughness. An annual congress, under the title "Tag für Denkmalpflege," or "Meeting for the Care of Monuments," is held in different towns of the Empire, and a special journal, the organ of the movement, gives every month a chronicle of all that is tried or accomplished for the cause, in Germany or abroad, either by legislation or by private agency.

The position of representative historical and artistic city of Britain may fairly be claimed for Edinburgh, and a somewhat similar place is held in Germany by Hildesheim. Not long ago the Burgomaster of Hildesheim delivered of himself a long address dealing with the various phases of this large question — the duty of civic authorities in regard to historical cities; and before describing the actual measures adopted to preserve the features of his own famous and romantic town, he indulges in a most refreshing outburst of civic patriotism to which it would do other chief magistrates good to listen. "This care for ancient monuments," he asks, "is it in truth something which one city or another may take up for a moment as a pastime in a fit of amateurishness? Or is it not rather one of the most important of municipal duties? I venture to believe that a city has no right to dispose of and to alter, as fancy wills, whatever of noble and of beautiful, especially in the matter of monuments, has been entrusted to it from the past.... How bare of interest would our cities be if we started now to order them solely with a view to modern requirements without any regard to what has been handed down to us from our forefathers! Nay, more. What a conflict of views would arise as to what modern requirements really demand. To-morrow, perhaps, the prevailing theory would be quite different from what it is to-day, and we might have to begin again and break down just what to-day we accept as so desirable. I hold it to be of the utmost importance for the life of a community to reverence the old, and then on the basis of what has been handed down to go on and deal in the best manner possible with modern needs. What wisdom demands is that we shall weigh one thing against another, and decide how far we can and ought to go in the preservation of the old, and how far it is possible and right to blend it with the new. This is especially the duty of our architects, who have not merely to stand up and say, 'If I had a free hand what heaven-piercing structures I would raise! Far from this, they have to take each single city for what it is, and must study the genius loci, and from the standpoint of that genius loci must weigh the needs of modern times and try and bring the two into harmony. Such, in my opinion, is the duty of municipal authorities. They should feel bound to equip their city in correspondence with the requirements of the modern age, but always in as close an adherence as possible to the old. In my view a city administration that does not adopt this standpoint has failed to understand its special, its highest, task. Does such an administration exist merely for the sake of enabling people to fulfil the needs of daily life as well, as cheaply, and as completely as possible? Is the City Council there for this alone? Certainly it is one of its most important tasks to consider questions of health and all connected with them, but, gentlemen, does man live by bread alone? Does the well-being of men consist only in bodily things, or is there not something far higher, the spiritual well-being of men, and does it not contribute greatly to this when they feel in close relation to the past, and take delight in realising how the city has gradually built itself up, and how not only the streets, but every single public building, each individual

house, even each piece of carved ornament, has grown in the course of time to be what it is? To make this feeling real is a task for the civic authorities, which, when the citizens have come to see things in the right light, will win public gratitude in a far higher degree than if they had merely kept the streets properly paved and swept. What I wish in a word to emphasise is that it is a matter of intimate duty, of conscience, on the part of city governors to care for the older monuments, not in amateur fashion as a by-work, but of set purpose as one of the most important objects of civic administration.”

These words derive a large part of their value from the fact that they are not those of an artist or an antiquary, but of an official of high standing whose practical business it is to satisfy the sanitary inspector and to consider the ratepayers’ interests. This address by Burgomaster Struckmann is recognised in Germany as a classic expression of the principles of the new movement, and it is valuable, too, for the information it contains about the practical measures adopted at Hildesheim for achieving the object aimed at. This object, it should be understood, is not merely the preservation of a certain number of outstanding monuments, but of the general appearance of the old city and its streets, or, as the Germans say, the “stadtbild” and the “strassenbild.” The primary agency, without which all others are of secondary value, is the goodwill of the citizens. [When] these have been brought to see that the [] is really their own, the essential condition of success has been secured. For carrying out the principles in detail reliance is placed on the formation of an enlightened public opinion, and much help has been given in Hildesheim by a society similar in aims to our own Cockburn Association, but of a more fully representative character; efforts are made also to influence the rising generation in schools as well as all classes engaged in building operations. An inventory of building and objects of historical and artistic value is, of course, an essential part of the plan, and it is rightly felt that structures which would never find their way into a limited State inventory, such as the list of the “Monuments Historiques” in France, may yet be of great local importance as elements in the general effect of a town. There is a city museum, but objects are only admitted when it is quite impossible to preserve them in their original surroundings. A series of more than 120 water-colour drawings of perished treasures will remind the Edinburgh visitor of the similar drawings in our own municipal museum. For the safeguarding of the items in the inventory various measures are adopted, the most direct and effective of which is purchased by the town. This process is carried on abroad to an extent that would seriously disquiet the treasurers of our more wealthy cities of Great Britain. For example, at Brussels, by the efforts of a former Burgomaster, M. Ch. Buls, all the old houses round the Grand Place have passed into the possession of the town. Hildesheim also has saved in this way the aspect of its old market-place, and has brought up valuable houses sometimes at a price of five or six thousand pounds apiece. These are not, of course, allowed to stand empty, but are used for various public purposes, or are let to tenants. To influence public taste in the case of new buildings a measure was adopted at Hildesheim which has been copied in other German cities. This is the institution of a competition for architectural designs for houses, or rows of such, in the traditional style characteristic of each city. Bremen, Lübeck, Cöln, Trier, Danzig have followed the example, and the successful designs have in some cases been published. It is obviously not always possible to secure that a private owner shall preserve the ancient appearance of his house, or adhere to the characteristic style in alterations or rebuilding. Where there is goodwill, but a lack of means, the Society steps in with a moderate contribution from its funds. In the first four years of its existence this Society, called

facetiously the “paint-brush Club,” “Pinsel-Verein,” came in this way to the aid of nearly 120 houses. The city also in such a case may make the occasion one for purchase.

Where goodwill is at fault there arises at once the important question of compulsion. The exercise of compulsion on aesthetic grounds can hardly be said to come as yet within the British circle of ideas, though on other grounds the principle of limiting the freedom of the individual in the interests of the community is in constant operation. Direct State legislation for the protection of old monuments exists in a certain number of European countries, though by no means in all. Even Great Britain has its “Ancient Monuments Act” of 1882, to which an important addition was made in 1900. Of such Acts, that of Greece, 1834, is the first in point of time; that of France promulgated in 1887, the most important; while the latest are those of Italy, of the Grand Duchy of Hesse, and of the cantons of Bern and Neuchatel in Switzerland, all of 1902. These Acts aim either at the protection of ancient monuments in general, or at the safeguarding of a comparatively few specimens of national importance. In France, in 1889, the number of “Monuments Classés” was only about 2200. When monuments of value are in private hands the French and other laws give the State little or no direct power over them, unless the proprietor is willing to have them placed on the list; but the later legislations of Italy and Hesse limit a little further the control of the individual owner. All civil codes concede to the State the right of compulsory purchase of private property for reasons of public utility, but how far the preservation of ancient monuments can be admitted under this last heading is a matter not yet clearly fixed. The Hessian law admits it, and adds the provision that in certain circumstances the State may delegate its right of appropriation on aesthetic grounds to the Government of a district or to a rural or urban community. A demand is now being made for additional powers of the kind to be placed in the hands of municipal authorities, and this opens up the whole question of local, as distinct from State, legislation on the subject in hand. The different German States possess Local Government Acts old and new, and under these the urban communities have power within certain limits to make their own by-laws. The cities interested, with Hildesheim at their head, have issued regulations of aesthetic import in a somewhat detailed and stringent form. Hildesheim, Nürnberg, Augsburg, Rothenberg, Würzburg, Frankfurt, Bamberg, and other cities, possess these regulations, but the fact that they represent a certain stretching of existing Local Government Acts to suit a purpose not fully contemplated when those Acts were passed renders it necessary for the towns to proceed warily in the exercise of their powers. The Bavarian cities seem to have the general law well on their side. In 1899-1900 a projected act of vandalism at Bamberg was forbidden by the Magistrates on the grounds of their local regulations. The matter was brought into Court, and the Judge of first instance decided against the Magistrates. These then appealed to the Bavarian Minister of the Interior, who upheld their contention, and added that there was to be “no more opposition to the efforts of the municipal authorities to maintain the ancient appearance of the city.” In a somewhat similar case in Nürnberg in 1899, civic action, though contested by interested parties, was upheld by the Minister. On the other hand, in other parts, and especially in Prussia, the general law is not so elastic, and the Hildensheimers were advised by the friendly Minister of the Interior to proceed with caution in the enforcement of their local regulations. Put briefly, these regulations forbid any buildings to be put up or altered in the central districts of the city in such a way as to be out of accord with the existing surroundings, and Burgomaster Struckmann reported in 1902 that in Hildesheim on no single occasion had these regulations been resisted, and that they had worked in a most beneficial

fashion. The existence of rescripts of the kind in the background had greatly strengthened the hands of those working to influence public opinion in the right direction. It is not to be wondered at, however, that there should be a demand for new legislation of a definite kind on this important subject, and in march of last year a petition from the societies interested was accepted for consideration by the Prussian House of Peers. The following is the gist of the legislation asked for:— No buildings in public or private hands of lasting historical and artistic value, or of special importance in relation to their surroundings, to be destroyed, and no alterations to be made on them except in accordance with the style of the building itself and of those about it; in certain stated parts of cities no new buildings to be erected out of accord with the character of the surroundings.

The Times, 1 November 1904.

THE GERMAN MOVEMENT FOR THE PROTECTION OF HISTORICAL CITIES.

Sir.- Will you grant me the space of a few lines in which to report the chief results of the Congress for the Care of Monuments held at the close of last month at Mainz on the Rhine? Congresses of this kind have been held in Germany for the last five years, and have been attended by representatives of the German States and public officials of towns and districts. This year the number of these official representatives has been doubled, a fact which shows the attention this subject is claiming in administrative circles. At the opening of the Congress the representatives of the Hessian Government and the author of the Hessian Monument Act of 1902, after reporting on the working of this Act, laid down the sound principle that all protective operations should be based, if possible, on a common understanding between the authorities of State and Church on the one side and local bodies and private persons on the other. A rigid bureaucratic system and sentimentality are alike to be avoided; the needs of the present and the capacity of ratepayers are to be weighed dispassionately, and the whole movement based on an instructed public opinion. The representatives of Austria and Prussia reported on the projects of monument legislation which were being prepared in each of those States, and the latter made the interesting communication that the forthcoming Prussian law would contain a provision to arm municipal authorities with legal powers for giving effect to aesthetic requirements. A "Handbook of the Artistic Antiquities of Germany," to be published in five volumes, was reported on, and it was announced that the Kaiser had authorised a grant of 50,000 marks in aid of the work. A long discussion took place on the question of the treatment of the older examples of domestic architecture in historical cities, and it was urged that these should not only be catalogued, photographed, and measured, but should be preserved. The subject of local building regulations in relation to the care of historical monuments was introduced to the Congress by Ober-Baurath Dr. Stübben, of Berlin, well known for his work in the extension of Köln, and author of the volume on the laying out of cities in the great German "Handbook of Architecture." The danger that old buildings and old features run from inconsiderate enforcement of such regulations was explained and illustrated, and a bolder assertion of aesthetic claims contended for. Hildesheim and Vienna have set a notable example in this matter. The Bavarian Government has sanctioned the issue of local regulations with aesthetic intent in the larger towns, and has ordered the preparation of illustrated local inventories of old buildings the preservation of which is desirable. A number of German cities, such as Nürnberg, Hildesheim, Frankfurt, Lübeck, Rothenburg, and many others, have local building regulations, which prescribe adherence to the traditional style in new work introduced into the central part of towns, and safeguard what is valuable in the old. Dr Stübben discussed the whole question of such prescriptions and prohibitions from the point of view of the practical architect and man of affairs, and decided in favour of the principle of such compulsion. It would have to be applied, however, with caution and tact, and should be only attempted in the older and more historically important parts of towns. Town councils should on these questions take advice from persons of good judgement and knowledge of art. The congress ultimately drew up a recommendation on the lines of Dr. Stübben's address which was to be laid before local authorities.

In view of the fact that our own historical towns, such as Chester and Edinburgh, have no protective regulations of this kind, while in all parts of these islands, save in favoured Ireland, the official care of monuments has been reduced to the narrowest limits, it is well that we should take note of the systematic manner in which these questions are being treated in Germany, as well as in other continental countries. We have to rely almost entirely, save when the Office of Works acts out of the goodness of its heart, on public opinion as influenced by private societies, and public opinion acts in a somewhat haphazard fashion, or does not act at all till it is too late. The Germans recognise that public opinion is the ultimate basis of all protective work, but they have a great advantage in their system of official commissions and conservators, as well as in State and local regulations, which aim at preserving for posterity the inheritance of artistic and historical monuments handed down to us from our forefathers.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

University of Edinburgh, Oct. 25.

The Times, 27 December 1904.

THREATENED DEMOLITION OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS

Sir.- The aid of *The Times* is greatly needed for the protection of ancient monuments now in serious danger in more than one centre of population. In each case the local opposition to proposed acts of destruction has a claim to help from all those who regard the older structures of our historical cities as national possessions. We may go further and find here something like an Imperial duty. An influential meeting in London was lately considering means for rousing the interest of youthful colonials in the mother country by "visual instruction" as to her characteristic sights and scenes. Such of the latter as are the evidences of a historic past are especially fitted to awaken patriotic pride in those who, though born under other skies, are yet scions of the one ancestral stock. Our mediaeval churches and mansions, our town-halls and market crosses, and the walls and gates of our once guarded cities are the repositories of memories that go back for a thousand years, and these memories are of incalculable advantage in keeping alive throughout the Empire the sense of the continuity of the race; while to take American acquaintances round a city like an you are in a sling and then later in their longing and ancient York or Oxford is to get a glimpse of a wider solidarity still. Abroad there is everywhere some Government agency at work for the preservation of local monuments, while our own, which are all the assets of the kind that exist for the Empire at large, are at the disposal of councils or individuals, who at times show a curious indifference to their value. Newcastle-on-Tyne views with justifiable satisfaction its position as a northern metropolis, but it is a source of pride equally legitimate that it has a scarcely-broken history from Roman times, and was playing its part at all the principal eras of the national history. Its mediaeval *enceinte*, the lasting witness to its importance as a factor in that history, is more than two miles round, and a good portion of this wall, with sundry towers, is still in existence. On the Continent such relics are scheduled, and responsible Ministers remind the town from time to time to see to their due preservation. So important is this preservation regarded that in 1899 the representatives of 124 antiquarian societies of Germany, in an address to their governments, spoke of it as "a question of life and death for the historical sciences and for the maintenance of the national consciousness." In Holland a Royal Commission was lately appointed to make an inventory of all the historical and artistic monuments of the country, and the walls and towers of the cities stand second on the list of the classes of objects to be catalogued. So in a town like Newcastle one would expect the safeguarding of this monumental record of the city's story to be one of the first duties of those concerned in its administration. Yet here, only the other day, the demolition of one of the surviving towers was regarded as advisable by the official Town Improvement Committee. The town council has yet to come to a decision on the matter, and there is every hope that it will give effect to the representations recently urged by an influential local deputation headed by Dr. Hodgkin. It may be trusted, also, that weight will be given to the expressions of opinion from outside the district, for there is a sense in which the ancient buildings of great towns are a possession of the community at large.

The case of Dunfermline in is a more pressing one, and the destruction here is threatened from a quarter in which a reverent care for the older buildings of the place would naturally be anticipated. The Carnegie Trust disposes of considerable funds set apart by the city's wealthy and public-spirited son for the benefit in the largest sense of the urban

community. Dunfermline is an ancient capital with many Royal associations, and possesses various ancient structures that are all of value in connecting by successive links the Norman Abbey Church with the life of to-day. It is to be feared that there is at present strongly represented on the trust a policy of destroying many of these older buildings to replace them by brand new ones. What would have been a lamentable act of vandalism was with difficulty avoided last year, but now again the trust seems inclined to pull down a pleasing group of eighteenth century houses on mediaeval foundations which stand below the western end of the Abbey Church, and, harmonising with it in colour and general character, are of the greatest advantage in giving it support and scale. To replace these by any new structure appears to the unprejudiced observer a most dangerous experiment, to be avoided by every possible means. The proposed new structure is to be a library; but the whole place is now a library in which the youth of Dunfermline can read in monuments and not in books the long history of their city. Leave the old buildings alone, with only the most necessary repair, and they will remain to tell their message to generations to come. Destroy them, and there is irrevocably loss and due outrage to the feelings of many lovers of the noble old town, wherein old and new are now so happily blended.

The same might be said of other centres where old work is being destroyed or threatened for no real reason of exigency. The remains of the Edwardian *enciente* of Berwick-upon-Tweed were being rapidly obliterated, and the progress of vandalistic destruction has only just being arrested through pressure applied from many distinct quarters. York is at present involved in a controversy about the treatment of the old city moat, which it is proposed to turn into gardens or playgrounds. It cannot be too strongly urged that all such features, if allowed to remain in their original form, are part of the history of a town, and as such are of far more value than if they were turned into some utilitarian purpose of the hour.

The destruction of all these historical relics when once carried out is irrevocable, and the fact that in the future their value may greatly increase and be recognised in ever-widening circles should surely enforce a policy of reasonable preservation on all town councils and other responsible bodies.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin-Brown.

The Guardian, 5 January 1905.

THE CARNEGIE TRUST AND DUNFERMLINE

Sir, — Will you allow me space of a line or two to correct a false impression which may be conveyed by part of your valuable leading article on the care of ancient monuments in your issue of December 30? Professor Geddes and I are absolutely at one upon the question of preserving as far as possible the ancient features of Dunfermline, while supplementing them by new structures intended to carry out the beneficent purposes of the Carnegie Trust. The “lamentable act of vandalism” to which I referred to has nothing to do with the present controversy about the eighteenth-century houses at the western end of the Abbey Church, but to a proposal made a year or so ago to pull down old Pittencrieff House, within what is now the noble park gained by the Trust for the town, and replace it by a modern mansion. Against this proposal Professor Geddes protested to the utmost of his power, and his protest, in which many others joined, was happily successful. In the present controversy also there is, so far as I know, perfect accord amongst those in Scotland who are specially interested in the question of how best to deal with our older cities so as to preserve their historical features while developing their life in new directions and upon modern lines.

Manchester knows the value of its Chetham College, nestling under the shadow of its mediaeval Cathedral in the centre of the busy life of the city. York did well to keep its railway outside the line of its walls, so that these might not be broken through by it. Newcastle will recognise in time to come that it was well to preserve the memorials of its historic past, whether in the form of its old town walls, its Norman keep, or the mediaeval church of St. John, now so sorely threatened. London will now enjoy the advantage of having the Strand churches preserved to her, though for many years they used to be periodically impeached in the name of convenience.

I need hardly say that we are all agreed that each case must be considered on its merits, and that fanaticism is as bad on the side of the artist as it is on that of the utilitarian. Preservation will not be always possible, and the number of our older buildings must necessarily become smaller as time goes on. There is all the more reason, therefore, to exercise a vigilant supervision, and especially a wholesome scepticism, when one hears the stock arguments that such and such an old building “must come down because it is in the way,” or because “there is no other site” for a proposed new one. When public opinion has been roused in defence of the threatened structure these arguments are often found to have very little in them. To the question in your article, “Quis custodiet ipsos custodiet?” I would answer the “Times,” the “Manchester Guardian,” and other powerful journals who are good enough to open their columns to the expression of this public opinion.— I am, &c.,

G. Baldwin Brown.

University of Edinburgh, January 3, 1905.

The Scotsman, 28 February 1905 (extract).

THE SYNOD HALL. PROTEST AGAINST DEMOLITION

Professor Baldwin Brown moved the following resolution: – “Resolved, in accordance with the resolutions adopted by the Citizens’ and Ratepayers’ Union in 1902, and by a public meeting of the citizens in 1903, to again respectfully urge upon the Town Council the expediency of instituting a competition for designs for the proposed Usher Hall, in accordance with the suggestions of the Royal Institute of British Architects.” He said that it need not be supposed that the citizens of Edinburgh had come forward in a malicious mood to overturn a scheme of the Town Council, for no one could read the reports of the proceedings of the Town Council and its committees in regard to this matter without feeling that a scheme which had been subjected to such criticism, a scheme which had been carried forward merely by the casting vote of the Chairman, was a scheme which had come to a standstill, and which the Town Council themselves would like to have the opportunity of considering *de novo*. He had had the honour of moving two or three years ago a similar resolution before the decision was come to to give the work of the design of the hall to the City Superintendents of Works. He objected, then, on the ground (1) that such work as the designing of a great city hall was not suitable work for those engaged in the architectural work of the city – (applause) – and (2), he had urged the resolution on the ground that the designing and erection of a hall of that character, a great public building, was a legitimate opportunity for the members of the architectural profession, especially the younger members of it, to come forward and show what they could do (Applause.) That resolution, however, when it was forwarded to the Town Council, did not produce the effect that they had hoped for, and the work was put into the hands of the present superintendents of city works. He did not want to say a single word against the capacity of the gentleman who filled these important civic offices. He considered that they were admirably suited for the work for which superintendents of city works were appointed, but he did not think it came within the scope of their work to design an exceptional building of that kind – a building in which they would like to see something like original genius. (Applause.) The plans for the Usher Hall, and the history of them, had not wedded him to the system of carrying out work of that kind by city superintendents. One reason was that they were too much in touch with members of the Town Council, and were apt to be expected to carry out buildings of a mere utilitarian kind, buildings to suit the requirements of the members of the Town Council who had to use these buildings. What they wanted on that occasion was a work of art and a creation of genius. The first design he thought was a simple, dignified, and unpretentious one, which would have afforded an opportunity for the display of decorative painting and sculpture in the interior of the hall. It was one in which a considerable amount of the lower portion of the facade of the hall could have been preserved. With regard to the facade, he said that the details of it and the top part of it were about as bad as they could be, but the masonry and the material was exceedingly fine, and well put together. It was a foundation upon which a fine architectural design could have been worked up. He did not know for what reason, whether they thought it did not look showy enough, or whether they were not getting enough for their money, or for some other reason, another design which was not so good architecturally was brought out. That design would have required the building out of the embankment. From the first he was intensely opposed to that scheme. After a time they had a design surmounted

with a dome which was a feature which did not belong to that class of architecture at all, but merely added to it possibly in order that it might make a show from Princes Street. Then they had a portico. That was the result of people urging this or that feature because they thought it would look well, without considering that these things ought to be designed as a whole, and designed by a competent person with whom nobody should be allowed to interfere. (Applause.) He said he would like to explain why the last words had been added to the resolution. The competition system in Scotland had been of recent years considerably discredited. But that was because it had not been carried out properly. Again and again an architect had gained first place in a competition, and yet he had been thrust aside and the design given to another. These things had led people to say that the competition system was as bad a system as they could have. That was not so, if they adopted the precautions laid down by the Institute of British Architects. Professor Baldwin Brown then described the procedure adopted by the Institute in such cases, and maintained that the object of the Institute was not the pecuniary interests of the members of the profession so much as the interests of the public. Architecture, like music, was a democratic art, and had its influence upon the community, and the Institute was endeavouring to raise the tone and feeling in this matter throughout the country. (Applause.)

Penrith Observer, 28 February 1905.

PENRITH TOWN HALL SCHEME.

Dear Canon Rawnsley, - Had it been at all possible for me to come to Penrith to-morrow afternoon I would gladly have done so, as the matter is evidently urgent and the importance of preserving, if practicable, such a good specimen of Adam work is very great. I may perhaps in the circumstances be pardoned if I write now something more than a mere apology for absence for this question of the safeguarding of the good specimens of our older architecture which are the ornaments of modern town seems to me to be of national interest, and to justify a stranger in asking for a hearing.

I take a particular interest in the life and work of Robert Adam, a distinguished Edinburgh citizen, who was responsible for many buildings which are the lasting glory of his town, and in a room in the finest of these buildings I am now writing. The form of the larger windows in the façade of the Corney Square house is an Edinburgh form, traditional there from long before the Adam epoch, and this fact combined with other evidence makes it almost certain that we have in these houses specimens of Robert Adam's design. This gives an undoubted value to the structures, for Robert Adam's name stands high on the role of British worthies of the eighteenth century. His father was a Scottish architect of high repute and Robert was one of the four sons all of whom followed in the father's profession. He had a very extensive practice first in Edinburgh and then in London, and all through his life he was engaged in carrying out country seats on a monumental scale in different parts of the country. Kedleston Hall, Derbyshire, being one of the earliest and best of these. He was brought up in familiar intercourse with men of literary distinction, such as David Hume and Adam Smith, was himself an author, and held a seat in Parliament, while about his later life in London it has been said by an authority on eighteenth century architects that "no architect in this country ever commanded to the same extent the confidence and esteem of his generation, or was so largely employed in every department of professional work, and probably none ever worked harder to deserve the approbation in which he was held." In the years before his death it is said that he finished designs for eight public and twenty-five private buildings, while at the public funeral accorded to him in Westminster Abbey the pall-bearers were the Duke of Buccleugh, the Earls of Coventry and Lauderdale, and other men of high official rank.

These personal details are enough to show that there is a certain distinction in the possession by a town of a specimen of Adam design, and that on general grounds the work of such a man should not be lightly sacrificed, but it is more important to note that Robert Adam's high reputation was honestly earned by the artistic merit of his productions. In the present day, when the wave of feeling in favour of Gothic forms has wellnigh exhausted itself, the severe, but well considered and finely executed, classical work of Adam and his school is becoming more and more valued. The citizens of Penrith may well value these buildings not only as the work of a famous man, but as presenting an unpretentious but excellent example of an architectural style that is now being restored to its ancient repute.

In this connection I may be permitted to point out that in classical compositions of this kind completeness and symmetry are everything. You cannot cut and carve a facade of this kind with impunity. Every part and every detail has been considered by the designer in relation to the whole. The artistic effect would easily be spoiled by altering these well-

balanced relations of part to part, while it is impossible that the detail of any new work inserted or added can have the value of the old. Over and above the excellent effect of the severe but harmonious composition of the door and window openings, with the simple but pleasing cornice, we have the refined classical detail for which Adam was so famous, and drawings of which a good part of the forty folio volumes of his designs in the Soane Museum, in London. There are the fluted pilasters, the pediments over the doors, and – not to be forgotten – the tracery in the fanlight over the doors and in the window heads. May I venture to urge in the strongest way, that if it is found possible, even at the eleventh hour, to preserve this valuable facade while modifying the rest of the building, the preservation should be complete, and should extend to the size of the panes of glass and the tracery in the window heads, which is part of the main design. I write feelingly on this matter, because on the inner facade of Adam's University buildings in Edinburgh the tracery he designed for a large fanlight was taken out and replaced by large square panes of glass, with a most unpleasing result. The smaller panes are valuable in keeping the whole in scale, and in preventing the windows from looking like blank holes in a wall.

I am afraid I have written to much at length, but this case seems to me just a typical one, and one that is bound to attract attention outside the locality. If the importance of preserving, and preserving intact, the facade is recognised, I feel sure that a satisfactory arrangement of spaces could be secured by remodelling the rest of the structure to suit requirements. This may entail a good deal of extra trouble, but surely the result will be worth it. Now that attention has been directed from so many quarters to the value of the old work surely Penrith will take a pride in preserving it to future generations as one of the best of the old architectural "bits" in the town.

Sincerely yours,

G. Baldwin Brown.

Edinburgh University, February 17th, 1905.

The Times, 11 July 1905.

MARTON CHURCH AND SAXON ARCHITECTURE.

University of Edinburgh.

Sir,— In *The Times* of June 20 there is a notice of some projected work at the interesting church of Marton, in Lincolnshire, on which, upon general grounds, I should like to be allowed a word of comment. There is no architectural epoch about which vaguer statements are current than the Saxon period in England, but, as this period covers some 400 years of the national history, it is surely time that we came to some general agreement as to the main features of it. The notice says that Marton is “one of the few remaining churches with a Saxon tower, built about the eighth century.” Now, as a fact, in Lincolnshire alone there are between 20 and 30 other Saxon towers of the same type, and the application to these of a little architectural criticism shows that they are not of the eighth century or of any dates near it, but most probably all of the eleventh. It is difficult to say whether Marton was built before or after the Norman Conquest, but it certainly date somewhere near that event. The very fact, mentioned in the notice, that Saxon carved stones are built into the walls proves that the church, if Saxon at all, must be very late in the style. It will be interesting to see these carved stones, when the plaster is stripped off the walls for the very necessary purpose of inspecting their structural condition. But why the plaster should be called “defacing” one cannot see. Such rough rubble walls as those of Marton were always meant to be plastered, and it is to be hoped that when the repairs are carried out, this decent covering will again be applied to the ancient masonry.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Times, 7 September, 1905.

A LINCOLNSHIRE CHURCH AND SAXONARCHITECTURE.

Sir,— The letter in your issue of August 25 from the vicar of Marton, Lincolnshire, is a strong argument in favour of the plea I recently urged in your columns for a rational treatment of early architecture. Almost every Saxon church in the country seems to be ascribed locally to Paulinus or to the ubiquitous Wilfred, though the forms of it may point to a much later origin. The fabric of a church is of the date of its architecture, not of the date of a chance visit of an early saint to its neighbourhood. The architectural forms of Marton church, which the vicar seems to imagine I have never visited, indicate a date very close to the Norman Conquest. The reasons for this statement I have recently drawn out at full length in a published volume, and it is not possible to recapitulate them here. I may, however, point out in connexion with early Lincolnshire church architecture in general that the so-called “Lincolnshire” towers possessing Saxon features must be late in the style; first, because, taking Europe as a whole, the architectural type they represent and many of their features are comparatively late ones, and, next, because in England the distinctive features of these towers occur in some cases, as at Hornby, Yorkshire, in association with Norman or later characteristics. In the special case of Marton we have the fact that some herring-bone masonry in the tower, seen above the interior, is curiously like some early Norman work at Tamworth Castle. I trust that the tower will receive proper structural repair, for a church as old as the Norman Conquest is quite interesting enough to appeal to the public at large. I am sending my mite to the vicar in aid of this good cause, which I may perhaps venture to commend to your patriotic readers.

I am,

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 16 February 1906.

CIVIC AESTHETICS

University of Edinburgh, February 15.

Sir,- Your timely article in to-day's *Scotsman*, following on Bailie Dobie's address to the Architectural Association, calls attention to an old subject, which yet is gaining every day a new increase of importance. It is as much the duty of a civic Council to care for the monumental records of a city's past and for its future beauty and amenity as for the various interests of the present. As a general principle, no doubt, this would be universally admitted, but "other things come in the way" of its realisation. If, however, these interests of the moment crowd out those other interests that are of equal though less clamant importance, this is simply a case of failure in efficiency. The Town Council of a great city should have its work so mapped out and distributed that the whole field of its legitimate operations is sufficiently covered. The members of the Council are men of business, and, if they accept what has been spoken of as part of their work, they can surely arrange for carrying it out. They have a strong inducement to make an effort in the direction indicated, for they would be vindicating for Edinburgh a position in the face of the country at large which is her natural right. The fame of the city for natural and architectural beauty is world-wide, and her representatives might suitably initiate for Great Britain that enlightened care for civic aesthetics, of which there is evidence in many quarters of the Continent and America. In these quarters ancient monuments are scheduled and protected, schemes of suburban development are made affairs of State, and advisory committees on artistic questions are officially associated with civic authorities. We are only asking for our own city what is enjoyed elsewhere, and it is probably true that Edinburgh is more likely than any city in the British Isles to obtain from the central authority of Parliament powers of the kind which would be needed, while an example set here would be conspicuous enough to influence the country at large. In the matter of the control of advertisements, our Town Councillors did initiate a policy, and in the future carrying out of that policy, if it be ever imperilled, they ought to count on the support of the whole body of the citizens. This same general policy can be developed in three directions. It would be reasonable for the civic authorities to aim at securing powers of control over the extension of the city in new suburbs, similar to those possessed by some Continental cities in Germany and Italy. There is no difficulty in the meantime in their following the example of some American towns, such as Boston and New York, and, as Bailie Dobie has suggested, attaching to themselves an advisory council of those specially versed in questions of taste; while, if public opinion proved favourable, they might take the further step of obtaining some authority in the eye of the law for decisions based on aesthetic grounds. In regard to the other buildings of the city, there is a precedent in Germany for the establishment of legal restrictions tending to preserve intact this part of our inheritance from the past; but apart from this, the Town Council might well possess and exercise the powers in favour of ancient buildings of value, which were assigned by the Ancient Monuments Amendment Act of 1900 to the Commissioner of Works and to County Councils. Independently, however, of any Acts of Parliament or legal procedure, the Town Council of Edinburgh might accomplish a work for our older buildings which is being done in many similar towns abroad. This is the work of drawing up an official list based on actual survey of the ancient features of the city architecture which still remain to us. It is

everywhere being recognised that this process of inventorisation is a necessary first step towards any measure of protection, and some eighteen months ago a proposal was made, and ultimately agreed to in the Town Council, for such an inventory to be drawn up. The project could be carried out in practice with ease, and at a slight cost, but it is unfortunately still in abeyance. Is it too much for the Edinburgh public interested in these matters to press on the Town Council the carrying out of this very valuable and interesting piece of work? No doubt outside help would be readily given by the citizens of architectural, historical, and antiquarian tastes. For one thing, a complete corpus of the inscriptions over old doorways in Edinburgh, with a proper account of the heraldic and other devices connected therewith, should certainly be drawn up, as it is really to our discredit that such a thing does not exist. For this expert aid from the outside might be looked for, but it is essential that the Town Council take the lead and give to the work its official imprimatur. On such an inventory any future conservative measures must be based, and these are necessarily the concern of the civic authorities, who should be concerned in the matter from the outset. The municipal museum, the interest of which is perhaps hardly yet realised by the citizens at large, should be the recognised centre for work of this kind, and its curator the standing adviser of the Council in antiquarian and historical questions.

Several of the points on which I have ventured to touch in this letter involve difficulties of a legal or financial kind, but this is no reason why a city like our own, the exceptional position of which has already been indicated, should not face the problems, and at any rate open the way to their solution. No difficulties are, however, involved in the special piece of work last referred to, the accomplishment of which may be pressed with all the more confidence on the rulers of the city.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 26 February, 1906.

THE ROKEBY VELASQUEZ.

Sir, — I feel sure I am conveying the wish of a large section of the public when I ask space for a word of thanks to those who have so promptly granted and secured for us a sight of the latest and one of the most precious artistic possessions of the nation. Thanks are due in more than one quarter – to the Trustees of the National Art Collections Fund, who have so generously parted for a time with the treasure acquired by their patriotic efforts and by the bounty of private donors, and so soon to become national property; to Messrs Agnew; and especially to those who, representing artistic interest in Scotland, have combined their efforts to secure for us this loan; to Sir James Guthrie and the Council of the Royal Scottish Academy, as well as to the managers of the Artists' Benevolent Fund, who have been active in this matter from the first.

The picture has only been seen by the public at very rare intervals, and it seems now more beautiful and more perfect in condition than one remembers it of old. One does not know whether to admire most the subtlety of varied flesh tints or the majestic breadth of the work as a whole. It will confirm in their view those artists who claim that their Velasquez is the finest painter in the world.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

Times Literary Supplement, 2 March 1906, p.74. Issue 216.

THE CARE OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS

Sir,- Will you allow me a word of comment on the notice of my book on "The Care of Ancient Monuments" in your issue of February 23? Your reviewer writes as if the chief sources of information for the work were certain reports officially obtained and printed in this country in 1896-7. This is not the case. Since these reports were compiled there has been so much activity abroad in this department that a volume made up as your reviewer suggests would be almost valueless. Any reader who glances at the bibliographies and references in the book, or peruses the preface, will see whence the matter of it has been obtained. I should not of course question any expression of opinion on the part of the reviewer, but this is a statement of fact which, if not set right, would give a false impression.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 14 June 1906.

EDINBURGH TOWN COUNCIL AND ANCIENT STRUCTURES.

University of Edinburgh, June 12, 1906.

Sir.- Some time ago the Town Council of Edinburgh agreed that it was desirable to survey and inventorise the city's possessions in ancient structures of historical and artistic interest. Does not the question that has recently arisen about a portion of the Flodden Wall furnish a very strong reason why there should be no further delay in implementing this patriotic resolve? Other cities have been accomplishing such inventories; is our own action to be confined to empty resolutions and references to committees that show no activity in the matter?

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 16 October 1906.

THE PROPOSED RESTORATION OF THE CHAPEL ROYAL, HOLYROOD.

University of Edinburgh, October 15.

Sir.- I hope it will not be assumed that public opinion in Edinburgh is unanimous in favour of the scheme for a restoration of Holyrood Chapel. The case is parallel with that of Iona, and is one in which, so far as I can see, every argument that can be used against the addition of modern work to old building applies in fullest force. The one valid argument in favour of restoration (which justified that of Dunblane) is the argument that the old building is really needed for modern purposes, and this does not apply here. If a chapel be desired in connection with the Palace, could not the money available be devoted to the erection of a new one from the designs of Mr Thomas Ross or other architect of distinction? In this case, the new work should be kept quite distinct from the old, which cannot be restored, and the present artistic value of which the new work would go far to destroy. I am not a fanatic in the cause of anti-restoration, and have always held that each case of this kind should be decided on its merits; and on the merits of this case only one judgement seems possible. It seems a pity that the Scottish Ecclesiological Society should be so quick to support these schemes of needless restoration. This was the traditional attitude of the ecclesiological societies of half a century ago, but opinion on this question has in our own time greatly changed both at home and abroad, and at the recent International Congress of Architects, held in London last July, the feeling expressed on all hands was inimical to projects such as the one now before us.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 28 January 1907.

OVERHEAD TRACTION IN EDINBURGH

Sir.- What the interests of Edinburgh require at this juncture is that citizens like your correspondent of this morning should bestir themselves to rouse an expression of public opinion which may free us from the danger of the introduction of the overhead system within the town. No worthy end is served by criticising (mistakenly) others who are at work for this purpose. Your correspondent will injure the cause we have at heart if he adduce examples like that of London. From Shepherd's Bush westwards London does admit the overhead system within town limits, though she excludes it on the southern roots. The instances I gave in the Council Chamber, Vienna and Buda-Pesth, were quite sufficient at the moment.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 8 February 1907.

RESTORATION OF HOLYROOD ABBEY CHURCH.

University of Edinburgh, February 7, 1907.

Sir.- Everyone must share the feeling of disappointment expressed by so many of your correspondents, that the patriotic desire of the late Lord Leven and Melville to give Holyrood Palace an effective chapel, and the Knights of the Thistle a suitable shrine for their insignia should be frustrated. The unfortunate feature of the situation is that the conditions of the legacy are so rigidly defined that, as matters now stand, there is no chance of carrying out the spirit of the bequest by the erection of a new chapel on part of the ground covered by the ancient Abbey Church. This would give the modern architect an opportunity for the expression of his own artistic feeling, and would not be open to the objections against trying dangerous experiments with the present ruined nave. Some of the arguments that are being used in this discussion are rather surprising. The authority of Mr Lethaby is questioned, though the fact that he has just been appointed to the charge of Westminster Abbey might convince of his competence any who do not already know him and his reputation. He is accused of being an English architect. Does Dr Macgregor, or does anyone, really think that the appointment of a local authority to pronounce on this delicate matter would have been a judicious act? Mr Lethaby may be English, but there are many English-born people to whom the preservation of what is distinctly Scottish is as much a care as it is to the countrymen of Burns. To anyone who, like the trustees and like Mr Lethaby, has the right feeling for our mediaeval buildings, it will make no difference whether any particular structure in these islands is Norse, or Celtic, or Scottish in the Lowland sense, or English, and this *ad captandum* argument of Scottish *versus* English looks rather as if it were brought in to cover a weak case. I read with interest and sympathy the letter of "A Mason" in yesterday's *Scotsman* because he does not profess belief in Sir Gilbert Scott and all his works, and because he does not urge the "facsimile" argument, but wishes the new work "not... to deceive or give the impression of the original work, but to show in an unobtrusive way that the exigencies of the present requirements had been fulfilled." One would be delighted to see new work carrying out the latter purpose, but it should be kept away from the old. This has its own interest, beauty, and associations, and these would be seriously endangered by the juxtaposition of so great an amount of new work, the exact aesthetic value of which, as in the case of all modern buildings, must till we see it be somewhat problematical. As for the plea that the present ruined condition of the building is a national disgrace, this is no doubt true, but the present generation is not responsible. Our duty to the monument, which is now being conscientiously fulfilled, is to preserve as far as possible what remains, and not to write a new chapter in its history for which future generations may call us anything but blessed. The argument that the proposed rebuilding will effect the purpose of "preservation" does not apply to what is by far the most valuable part of the structure from the artistic point of view, the exterior of the West front, which would not be helped by the re-roofing of the nave.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 1 March 1907

THE CALL TO THE REV. JOHN KELMAN.

Edinburgh, February 28, 1907.

Sir,- I trust Mr Kelman, as well as every other minister who may find himself in a similar position, will decide the very important question now before him from the point of view of himself, of those most nearly connected with him, and of his power of future usefulness in the largest sense. A man's career is like his personal honour, his own intimate concern, and since with Mr Kelman his career means only his opportunities of doing the work for which he is fitted, he may be left to decide for himself in what field he will in coming years do his best. We should look to the future when, if Mr Kelman stays on in his present sphere, there might come a call from outside which he could not well resist, and Edinburgh might lose him altogether. It is believed that some time ago he might have gone away to fill an important position outside Scotland, but gave this up largely through his devotion to special features of his work in Edinburgh. Is he likely to sacrifice these features on the present occasion? I for one would be glad to see him in a position where his views on the great questions of the day would reach the largest number of hearers, as he has the gift of so presenting anything new in theology that his hearers recognise that it is only the old theology rightly understood. Everyone will sympathise with his present office-bearers and congregation, and will applaud all the efforts, controlled by good feeling, that they may make to retain him; but, after all, no one in this world is indispensable, and the North Church under a new *regime* might enter on a fresh career of usefulness. We must in the matter consider the interests of the Church at large.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

CIVIC CONTROL IN MATTERS AESTHETIC. WHAT IS DONE ABROAD.

It is sometimes assumed as self-evident that civilised communities should have some power of veto to prevent any flagrant offences against good taste in buildings or monuments that become a part of the public life of a city or a State. Here in Edinburgh the Town Council, the Dean of Guild Court, even the Cockburn Association, are sometimes blamed for suffering outrages on good taste, though as a fact they have no legal power of prevention. Those who are aware of the impotence, in a statutory sense, of our authorities will sometimes account for it on the ground of our insular deficiencies, and will point to Paris or Vienna as a place where such offences would not be allowed. Hence it may be worth while to inquire what are the facts as to the possession by modern communities of legal powers which they can exercise on aesthetic grounds.

The protection of existing natural or architectural features of value is a different matter from the control of new erections, whether in town or country. Several States, as is well known, possess laws protecting a certain number of scheduled monuments of special value, and may also hold in reserve against recalcitrant proprietors a valuable, though somewhat clumsy, weapon of expropriation. Few states, however, have more than a very limited power of safeguarding structures in private hands that are outside the charmed circle. Paris herself is in this respect not more under the shield of the law than Edinburgh or Glasgow, and except in the case of "Monuments Classés," or buildings or spaces over which there are servitudes, she depends for protection essentially on public opinion. It is often supposed that France possesses a Minister of the Fine Arts, but there is neither in France nor anywhere else in the civilised world a Minister of the Fine Arts pure and simple. Matters aesthetic are always at best one subject out of several among which a Minister divides his attention, and M. Briand is "Ministre de l'Instruction Publique, des Beaux-Arts, et des Cultes." Our neighbours across the Channel are, however, fortunate in that their central Government and their local authorities treat as matters of serious public concern aesthetic questions which amongst ourselves are too often relegated to the domain of "faddists." For example, in April of last year President Fallières ratified an important Act for the protection, not of buildings, but of natural scenes and sites of beauty and interest. Under this Act, in each Department a Commission, headed by the Prefect, is to schedule such places, and the proprietors are to be asked to accept servitudes preventing alterations except by leave of the Commission and with the approval of the Minister of Public Instruction and of the Fine Arts. In the case of refusal the place may be expropriated by the Commission. After the establishment of the servitude contemplated, any unauthorised alteration is a punishable offence.

To return to the towns, the case of Paris is that of Vienna, Brussels, Amsterdam, and the vast majority of the older and more imposing cities of Europe, but in Italy and in parts of Germany some, at any rate, of the towns are in a different position. In the former country under the Communal and Provincial Law of 1898, Communal Councils are authorised to frame building by-laws with a view to preventing new buildings from injuring the appearance of city streets and places. Such local by-laws not only forbid injurious alterations on existing buildings, the scheduling of which the Minister of Public Instruction has authorised, but enable the civic authorities to refuse sanction on broader grounds to any new

building project if “contrary to the general demands of art and amenity.” In Germany, many towns, such as Hildesheim, Rothenberg, and Nürnberg, possess local bi-laws somewhat more restricted in their scope, and aimed specially at the protection of what is old, and the avoidance of direct interference with the *genius loci* through inappropriate new structures. There are favourable reports of the working of these regulations, but doubts have been expressed whether they are strictly within the legal capacity of the authorities that have passed them. It is partly with the intention of setting these doubts at rest, that the Prussian Government has had in preparation for some years past a State law on the whole subject of the protection of ancient monuments and aesthetic control over building operations in general. The existence in some centres of regulations such as those here mentioned is a matter to note though it does not follow that they always secure the aims that persons of taste have in view. When a body like a Town Council can exercise a veto or control or [*sic*] initiative in aesthetic matters, the value of the results depends on the standard of taste recognised by the members, and this standard is generally not far removed from that of the community which the Councillors represent. It may be argued that if this general standard of taste be satisfactory, public opinion will do all that is needed without regulations. This may be sound in theory, but there is at the same time a practical value in the existence of such regulations, in that they conveniently crystallise public opinion at its best, and are always in the background to be applied in cases where individuals are regardless of the views and interests of their neighbours.

It is a noteworthy fact that American cities are in advance of those in Europe and the organisation of enlightened public opinion on these questions. Boston, New York, Chicago, Detroit, and other cities of the States are equipped with Municipal Art Commissions armed with the powers for which so many in the cities of the Old World are sighing. Some of these bodies have been in existence for a decade, and have worked fairly well. An Act to establish a Board of Art Commissioners for the city of Boston was passed in 1898, and the board here consisted of five members appointed by the Mayor from lists furnished by bodies such as the trustees of the Museum of Fine Arts and the Boston Public Library. At New York the members of the Commission are the Mayor and the presidents of certain museums and libraries *ex officio*, with “one painter, one sculptor, and one architect, all residents of the city of New York; and three other residents of the said city, none of whom shall be a painter, sculptor, or architect, or member of any other profession in the fine arts. All of the six last-mentioned shall be appointed by the Mayor from a list of not less than three times the number to be appointed, proposed by the Fine Arts Federation of New York.” Some of the provisions for the work of this Commission are that all works of art are to be submitted to and approved by the Commission, and none is to become the property of the city unless the work itself and the proposed location have been so approved “When so requested by the Mayor or the Board of Aldermen, the Commission shall act in a similar capacity, with similar powers, in respect of the designs of municipal buildings, bridges, approaches, gates, fences, lamps, or other structures, erected or to be erected upon land belonging to the city, and in respect to the lines, grades, and plotting of public ways and grounds, and in respect of arches, bridges, structures, and approaches which are the property of any corporation or private individual, and which shall extend over or upon any street, avenue, highway, park, or public place belonging to the city, and said Commission shall so act, and its approval shall be required for every such structure which shall hereafter be erected or contracted for an expense exceeding one million dollars.”

On the practical result of the agencies of control thus legally established, an American writer conversant with artistic matters in his own country has recently expressed himself in encouraging terms. He notes, indeed, that "one of the disadvantages under which the Commission labours in fulfilling its mission is that its results are not obvious. The commonplace statue, the mediocre painting, the pretentious and ill-designed building from which it has saved us, are unseen and unknown. The real artistic uplifting which it has undoubtedly given the Metropolis would have to be maintained for a long period of time before it would make any impression on the ordinary busy citizen." He reports, however, that those best qualified to judge consider that the Commission has really accomplished a good work in setting a higher standard and stimulating the artistic conscience, both in the members of the artistic professions and among the public at large. That the movement is spreading to other cities is the best evidence that this establishment of Art Commissions with statutory powers is a real element of good in American municipal life.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 15 February 1908

PROPOSED ALTERATIONS IN WATERLOO PLACE

University of Edinburgh, February 14, 1908.

Sir.- It is sincerely to be hoped that those chiefly concerned in the proposal that has come before the Dean of Guild Court will reconsider it in the interests of the architectural amenity of the city. Waterloo Place, designed by Archibald Elliot, whose classic structure at the west end of St Giles' was mercilessly demolished a few years ago, has been happily preserved almost wholly intact to our day, and furnishes one of the best examples of a dignified and finely composed classical group of buildings that Edinburgh or Great Britain at large can show. Such a monument deserves reverent treatment at our hands. It was successfully defended some time ago from the attacks of a railway company, and it would be a thousand pities if any of its own proprietors did anything to spoil it.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 25 February, 1908.

**MR HARCOURT AND EDINBURGH ARCHITECTURAL ASSOCIATION AND
HOLYROOD.**

University of Edinburgh, February 24.

Sir.- Mr Harcourt has the same right to adjudicate on a question of the treatment of a national monument that Mr Haldane has to deal with military matters. Does Mr MacRitchie wish to alter [the] whole British system for the conduct of public affairs?

As regards the report of the Council of the Edinburgh Architectural Association, Mr MacRitchie, and some others who have written as he has done, must know perfectly well what are the facts of the case, and there is no excuse for not representing these correctly.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 29 February 1908.

HOLYROOD CHAPEL RESTORATION.

Edinburgh, February 26, 1908.

Sir.- Like Mr MacRitchie, I had hoped that nothing more would ask to be said on the matter of the restoration of Holyrood, and if I venture to send you this letter, it is mainly because, in the somewhat futile efforts that have been made to reopen a question which has been closed, the most important point of all – a point that may become a practical one – has been put out of sight. The real argument in favour of the restoration project was the obvious one that a Royal Palace such as Holyrood ought to possess an effective Chapel, and the Knights of the Thistle a home similar to those enjoyed by the Knights of the Garter and of the Bath at Windsor and Westminster. Now, suggestions have been put forward in regard to which all parties, restorers and anti-restorers alike, have been in agreement, that an effort should be made to secure this desirable end by the rebuilding of the lost choir or the choir and transepts of the Abbey Church. Amongst others who wrote in favour of this in *The Scotsman* was Sir Herbert Maxwell, whose right to speak on questions concerning the ancient monuments of Scotland needs no demonstration. This is not, of course, a matter for the general public to decide, and there may be difficulties in the way of its becoming an effective proposal, but if it could be actually taken up and carried through, the whole situation would be saved.

If I venture to add a word or two on the question of the restoration of the nave, it is that the public may know that the arguments are not all on one side, and that neither the Edinburgh architects nor architects at large are in agreement. The Council of the Edinburgh Architectural Association is not unanimous in favour of restoration, and it is not fair controversy so to represent it. The members signed a report stating, what in one sense is perfectly obvious, that a satisfactory structural restoration was feasible, but added that they expressed no opinion on the historic or aesthetic aspect of the question, which did not fall within the remit, but which is, of course, the matter on which the whole controversy has turned. This was explained in a letter that appeared in *The Scotsman* at the end of last December, and since this has been made clear, the report should not have been quoted as in favour of restoration. It may be worthwhile quoting, in conclusion, some words from the Presidential address of the President of the Royal Institute of British Architects, delivered after the visit of the Institute to Edinburgh last July, when the members from London had an opportunity of examining the building and hearing all that was to be said by their Edinburgh colleagues, many of whom, as we know, are ardent advocates of restoration. This is what the President said: – “We were conducted over many buildings of exceptional interest, of which none, I think, appealed to us more than the Holyrood Palace and Chapel.

“The latter building was the object of close study on the part of the visitors. Beyond the acknowledged beauty of its architecture, especial interest and consideration was given to the very important subject of restoration, a question which has given rise to a keen controversy amongst the citizens and architects of Edinburgh. It will be remembered that a large sum of money was devised by the late Lord Melville to be used at the discretion of an architect nominated by him in a complete restoration of the Chapel. Very many prominent architects and other authorities, however, have expressed considerable alarm at any restoration of one of the most interesting remnants of mediaeval work.

“The consensus of opinion among the visitors appeared to be very strongly in favour of non-restoration, the general verdict being that it was only desirable to devise some simple means of protecting the upper parts of the walls from the ravages of rain, frost, and snow, and that very little need to be done in the way of repairing. It was thought that restoration would practically mean rebuilding the greater part of the Chapel, and adding a new roof and vaulting. At present there is no roof, and the greater portion of the north arcade has practically disappeared. In fact, it was felt that restoration on such a large scale would practically mean that a new Chapel would arise, and that much of the work of our forefathers would be obliterated, or at least renovated out of all knowledge. As it now stands, this building forms a monument of mediaeval work, beautiful in design and workmanship, and properly protected it would continue for ages to come to afford an example of a phase in our art which can never be reproduced.”

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Times, 16 March, 1908.

THE PROTECTION OF ANCIENT BUILDINGS.

Edinburgh, March 9.

Sir,- It is to be hoped that the report in favour of the protection of ancient buildings, prepared for the London County Council by its Local Government Records and Museums Committee, will be followed by some definite and energetic action. More than one public body has within the last year or two resolved to move in this direction, but no actual steps have been taken to press the importance of the question on the responsible authorities. The report proposes to schedule monuments with a view to their preservation, and your summary continues:-“They understood that a somewhat similar procedure has been adopted in France, where the effect of scheduling the monument was that it could not be destroyed even in part ... Without the consent of the Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts.” It may be well to point out that the suggested precedent is of little value, for by the provisions of the French Ancient Monuments Act of 1887, which on this point is quite clear, no monument can be put on the schedule at the will of the authorities, but only on the express consent of the owner. On the other hand, not only in France, but in many other Continental countries, the law gives the Government, and in some cases local authorities, the right to expropriate for the purpose of saving a threatened monument in private proprietorship, and this is really the only effective safeguard available. There may be mentioned as countries that authorise compulsory purchase with this in intent Belgium, France, Greece, Hesse-Darmstadt, Hungary, India (under Lord Curzon’s Act of 1904), Italy, Portugal, Romania, Switzerland (several cantons), Turkey. In other countries, such as Prussia and Austria, there is some doubt as to the powers in this respect possessed by the Executive. All Monument Acts, however, save our own of 1882, confer the right in question, and our own authorities should undoubtedly be armed with that weapon for the defence of the national treasures in this Department.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 23 March 1908.

THE ROYAL SCOTTISH MUSEUM.

University of Edinburgh, March 21, 1908.

Sir.- Will you allow one who has occasion to use the Royal Scottish Museum for educational purposes to add a word to what your leading article of yesterday expresses so strongly about the importance and value of the collections therein contained, and to venture the hope that the claim you urge for an extension of the too limited accommodation will meet with an adequate response? In this matter the British Museum furnishes an instructive object-lesson. The juxtaposition there of the natural history collection and that of art and antiquities was an incongruity which was got rid of many years ago by the erection for the former of a palatial building apart, while more recently the future extension of the collections has been provided for by a colossal scheme, part of which is now in actual process of realisation. The new Victoria and Albert Museum is another wholesome sign that growth is the modern law of life in these great educational institutions. The Edinburgh Museum in Chambers Street has been for some time past been preparing a justification for its present demand by improving the arrangement of the collections, which, after the older fashion of the Science and Art museums, were at first of a distractingly miscellaneous character. There has been at work a process of clarification, which, by eliminating inferior specimens, by filling in gaps, and more especially by scholarly grouping, has been giving to the collections an increasingly scientific aspect. The Museum is now a national institution, and merits treatment on a national scale. A few years ago the present curator sent skilled *formatori* to mould some of the most interesting of our older monuments of native art, such as the Ruthwell Cross and the cross-slab from Nigg, and casts from these moulds have been supplied to the leading museums in the country. Here is a branch of work that might well be extended. The old formula of unregenerate South Kensington, that there was no salvation inside the bounds of Italian art, is now discredited, and there is an increasing recognition of the value of our refined and unpretentious mediaeval work, which has too often been set aside in favour of florid Continental productions. With a freer hand in the matter of space, the Museum would, no doubt, carry further this patriotic work that it has so well begun.

At the same time, the essential value of the standard examples of style for all time should not be lost sight of, and I may be allowed a concluding word on one particular department in which the Museum may still further increase its educational service to the community. A satisfactory beginning has already been made with a representative selection of casts from the masterpieces of Greek sculpture. Such a collection is of value, not only to scholars and art students, but also from the point of view of general culture. If the study of the Greek language and literature is to pass out of the scheme of the higher education, it is all the more important not to lose sight of the contributions which in other forms the Greek genius has made to the intellectual life of mankind. Greek sculpture, as the embodiment of Hellenic love of form, is one of the highest achievements of that genius, and in recognition of this we find that all over the world University towns possess their cast collections that illustrate Hellenic art in its best and most characteristic aspects. It must, of course, be remembered that the Royal Scottish Museum is not a museum of reproductions. It owns already a varied and precious treasure in original works, and the most effectively it is enabled to display these the greater will be the pleasure that donors will take in adding in this

way to the riches of the country. Reproductions, however, form an important element in the exhibits, and the particular class of reproductions for which I venture here specially to plead need, before everything, proper space for their due accommodation.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 1 November 1909.

THE DEAN BRIDGE.

University of Edinburgh, October 28, 1909.

Sir.- The problem of the Dean Bridge is always with us, and its crux is the fact that at the southern end of the bridge there is too little space between the level of the footway and the top of the parapet. To raise the parapet in that part, as has been suggested, is open to the grave, I venture to think, the insuperable, objection, that it would spoil the look of the bridge from the outside, for the present level of the parapet is, and was of course always intended to remain parallel with the tops of the arches. To put it out of this parallelism would, of course, seriously alter Telford's noble design. To raise the parapet all along, so as to cut off the view east and west from those passing over the bridge, would be highly objectionable, for that view, as seen on one of these bright autumn mornings, in its beauty of colour and atmospheric effect, is not surpassed by any prospect in these islands. The "wrought-iron railing," which is often spoken of, would involve from the point of view of amenity a somewhat hazardous experiment. Would not the following be the simplest and best solution of the problem? – The roadway must necessarily rise on a regular slope from the Buckingham Terrace end of the bridge, and this might remain as it is, though with a sufficient curb at each side, while the footways might be lowered as the bridge is crossed so as to remain always at the same height below the top of the parapet as they are now at the northern end. The necessary elevation might then be gained at Randolph Cliff by a short flight of very low and broad steps, the mounting of which could not be felt to be a hardship. It appears to me that the sacrifice on the part of the public and the expense to the city would be less in connection with this than with any other proposal that has been mooted.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 21 February 1910.

BLACKFORD HILL AND THE BRAID BURN BRIDGE.

University of Edinburgh, February 18.

Sir.- Every one will have read with grateful feelings the report of the speech of the Lord Provost at the recent meeting of the Old Edinburgh Club, in which he gave assurances of official vigilance for the future in regard to those older monuments and those places of beauty over which the city has control. The present action of the Town Council in the matter of the quarrying operations on Blackford Hill is quite in accordance with the spirit of those remarks, but there is one spot at the south of the Hill to which I should like to direct attention. Those who frequent this part will often have crossed the single-arched stone bridge that spans the burn at the Morningside Ward boundary. To-day in passing over it I noticed that the parapet on one side has been broken down, and a steel girder has been laid across which seems to show an intention of replacing the bridge by a new one of quite a different character. Now, there are modern steel-borne flat bridges close by that will serve to carry all heavy traffic connected with quarrying operations, and the stone bridge certainly seems to the ordinary eye firm enough to bear up the pedestrians who use the path round the Hill. Why is it to come down? One can hardly believe that the town is a party to its destruction, for unless there be an absolutely cogent reason for this it would be entirely opposed to the policy laid down by the Lord Provost on the occasion referred to above. The old stone bridge with the curves in the road which its position necessitates, is a delightful little object, one of those bits of old-fashioned work which, whether in town or country, are now so generally regarded as objects of great value, that should by all possible means be preserved. Cannot this little bit of country work be spared? It has suffered as yet very little damage, and I hope that if attention be directed to it some means may be found to secure for it a respite.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 20 May 1910.

ALTERATIONS IN ATHOLL CRESCENT.

University of Edinburgh, May 18, 1910.

Sir.- I trust that the decision as to the alterations on the frontage of Atholl Crescent is not irrevocable, and it is a satisfaction to see that the question is to be re-opened by Councillor Inches, to whom, as convener of the Parks and Buildings Committee of the Town Council, it falls to carry out the policy so recently laid down by the Lord Provost in favour of the conservation of Edinburgh buildings. The proposal, if finally sanctioned, would involve the serious mutilation of a fine piece of street architecture in the monumental style characteristic of Edinburgh, and through this an offence to the feelings of good taste and civic patriotism of a number of her inhabitants. In this connection I would venture to point out that one of the speakers at the meeting of the Heriot Trust on Monday, who characterised a resistance to the proposal as a "little objection," is under a misapprehension. In the case of a congeries of buildings of mediaeval character, like those in the High Street, irregularity in masses and details is within reasonable limits quite in place, but it is different with neo-classic monuments such as Charlotte Square, Waterloo Place, or Atholl Crescent, which, with similar structures at Bath, are the best things of the kind in the whole country. We have here single architectural compositions, combining parts the proper relations of which have been carefully studied by the designer. Symmetry, regularity, and balance are of the essence of their effect, and if we throw these compositions out of gear by excrescences or alterations of balance we ruin the artistic value of the whole.

The Trust is really asked to sanction not a small but a very considerable alteration in these houses over which it is the superior. Three doors would disappear and be replaced by windows, while in front of the remaining door a big porch would be thrust out to the pavement, and at the top a new storey in stone work would be added along all four houses above the present cornice. It is understood that an alternative plan has been prepared by officers of the Trust, which would, by increasing the present number of dormer windows along that part of the frontage from eight to twelve, give the kind of accommodation required, without the highly objectionable feature of this upper storey. It may be urged too that an institution so widely known and valued as the Edinburgh School of Domestic Economy can afford to dispense with the advertisement of the portico, which, in that position, would be a blatant defiance of architectural propriety.

The Trust is urged to agree with this proposal in the interests of education. Surely we recognise now the educational value of good taste and of the habit of subordinating private to public interests. That the younger citizens of Edinburgh should grow up proud of their city and jealous for its beauty and its reputation is of quite as great importance as additions to the mere mechanical apparatus of education, of which we are disposed in these days to make a fetish. *The Scotsman* has on these questions taken a large-minded view, and the cause of amenity owes much to its recent action. This encourages me to hope that I shall be allowed in this way to appeal to the Heriot Governors to veto this proposal. The Governors are acting in a judicial capacity, and have to decide between the demands of an excellent private or semi-public institution and the larger interests of the city, and they will of course consider the question at issue without reference to any personal interest which any of them may have in the school. They occupy a very conspicuous and responsible position in relation to

property in the city, and as the claims of civic amenity are being now brought prominently forward in connection with the Town Planning Act, it is to be hoped that they will regard this matter in its broader aspects rather than from the point of view of immediate utility.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 13 July 1910.

ST MAGNUS CATHEDRAL, KIRKWALL.

University of Edinburgh, July 12.

Sir.- I trust you will allow the importance of the principles involved in this matter to plead for space in your correspondence columns for the following few sentences from one who is by no means a fanatic on this question of restoration and anti—restoration. Your correspondent in his communication in this morning's *Scotsman* has every intention of making a fair statement of his case, though, of course, it is necessary an *ex parte* one. He has, however, given away his case in the naivest possible manner in the sentence near the top of his second column – “It should be said that the stone walls of the nave, choir, and transepts, which had been roughly dealt with in the past in many parts, will be suitably treated and pointed.” This sentence would cover some of the worst enormities ever committed, such as the treatment of the external walls of St Giles' and the Cathedral at Durham. Happily, let me hasten to add, there is little fear that at the hands of Mr Mackie Watson the stonework at St Magnus would be modernised in the fashion suggested by the ominous words above quoted.

The first question I asked Mr Watson, when he was good enough some time ago to explain to me his plans and designs, was - Are you going to leave the surface of the old stonework alone? and I understood from him that he quite felt with me as to the paramount importance of this. The worst of it is that uninstructed people like to see things neatly finished and brought up to a modern standard of smoothness, and an architect is in practice sometimes forced to yield in this matter against his better judgement. I have just had some difficulty in preserving the traditional harling on the basement of the house I occupy because the tradesmen concerned thought it would look more fashionable if the rubble masonry were “suitably treated and pointed.” Again, your correspondent does not help his case by holding up before us “eminent London” architects or “scholarly and accomplished” architects from Glasgow. The present occupant of the presidential chair at the R.I.B.A. is an architect who is in thorough sympathy with old work, but I should not like to say the same of some of his predecessors, while in spite of my strong feeling for Mr John James Burnett, both as a man and as an architect, he is one of the last people I should choose to entrust with decisions about how to treat mediaeval buildings. We must always remember that the architect, *qua* architect, is more interested in new structures than in old ones. In this matter, as many are now happily aware, there are architects and architects.

I am not writing this in opposition to the work being done at Kirkwall, especially in the interior, nor to express a doubt as to the reverent feeling for old work which I know Mr Watson possesses. There is too much money available or in prospect at Kirkwall, and this involves a temptation, but all will be in sympathy with the idea of opening out the interior and supplying it with fittings of a sumptuousness commensurate with the importance of the edifice. I do not like Mr Watson's proposed spire, and I would venture to suggest to those in authority in the matter that they might perform a graceful act by withdrawing this part of the scheme, and so avoiding a very marked change in the general aspect of the monument of which the country is so proud. The objection to the use of iron as a constructive material on a large scale in mediaeval buildings has at its back some very sound reasons into which there is not space to enter, but the spire in itself as proposed does not seem to me a very happy piece of design.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Times, 9 August 1910.

VALDALISM AT COLDHARBOUR.

Coldharbour by Dorking, Aug.7.

Sir,—The village from which I am writing may fairly claim to be more beautifully situated than any in England, and in the character and grouping of its cottages and of the trees interspersed among them it has done justice to its advantages of site. Numerous readers of *The Times* who know Coldharbour by Dorking well will learn with surprise and regret that a deplorable act of vandalism is now being perpetrated here in the supposed interests of education.

They will remember that as one entered the village by the Dorking side the schoolhouse stood in the angle where the hill path climbs up to the right on to the common, and was fronted by a fine elm tree that focused the whole uniquely picturesque view. This elm tree, one of the most conspicuous ornaments of the village, and a tree, moreover, that was perfectly sound and undecayed, has just been felled, and a like fate awaits to-morrow a still finer tree, though one not so important from its situation, on the other side of the schoolhouse. This is a singularly perfect Spanish chestnut in the prime of its growth, under which, quite in orthodox style, “the village smithy stands.” The occasion of this destruction is the fact that the school buildings are in the course of reconstruction, and the coal shed of the master’s house is to go where the elm tree stood, while the school latrines are to occupy the site of the present noble chestnut tree. These outbuildings could in both cases have been perfectly well placed in situations where they would not have involved this public loss. There are, of course, in every community people whose one idea when they see a tree is to cut it down, but this should not be true of members of the school committee, who would fiercely resent any such injury to the amenity of their own parks and gardens which they have with light hearts inflicted on the beautiful village.

I am not craving space for these lines merely to complain of what has been done, though the matter is lamentable enough to excuse this, but I would ask *The Times*, if possible, to help to make this sort of thing less easy for the future. The Government has recently shown its solicitude for our older architectural monuments by the appointment of Royal Commissions for the survey of them, and the time will probably not be long before it follows the example of the Prussian and other European Governments, and takes measures in the interest of the preservation of the natural beauties of the land. Till this comes about it is incumbent upon all who look on these matters from the public standpoint to do their best to prevent these local aberrations. The architects for this school reconstruction, a London firm of standing, surely did less than their duty as members of an artistic profession; surely the Surrey Education Committee were not fully mindful of Surrey interests when they failed to impress on the local authorities the need of considering seriously what they were doing. The Education Department takes a small view of what education really should mean if it is quite careless as to amenity in the surroundings of schools and passes by on the other side when architecture or natural beauty falls among thieves. It is curious what deeds have been done recently in the name of education! Only the other day in Edinburgh, in order to indulge the desires of an educational institution, an important public body gave permission for a gross piece of vandalism in the mutilation of Atholl-crescent. A little further back there was the

notable case at Berwick-on-Tweed, where a part of the Edwardian town wall was actually demolished to make a site for a new school.

Is it not part of the proper work of the Board to impress upon the young the value and interest of historical monuments and the charm of the beautiful objects of nature rather than to let them grow up in the doctrine "Here is an old building, let us pull it down," or, as the Coldharbour children are being now taught, "There is a fine tree, come, better fell it"?

I am, &c.,

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Times, 1 December 1910.

A HISTORIC HOUSE IN EDINBURGH.

University of Edinburgh.

Sir,- Monuments of our older urban architecture, like scenes of natural beauty, are not matters of merely local interest, but national possessions in which all have a share. Now that public attention is being directed to the danger to which such monuments are subjected under modern conditions of life, it may not be unreasonable if I asked to be allowed to appeal through your columns for help in securing in perpetuity a fine old Edinburgh mansion of the 16th and 17th century, once the town house of the Moubrays of Barnbongle, on the Forth. The house adjoins the well-known "John Knox's House," and with it forms a group that is perhaps the best surviving specimen of old town architecture of its kind in the kingdom. The Cockburn Association of Edinburgh has secured for a short time an option of purchase, and is making every effort to raise the sum of £1,000 necessary to obtain the house and to carry out such internal repair as may make it fit for the use and enjoyment of the public. It needs hardly to be pointed out that this is the only method by which in this country monuments of the kind can be assured against destruction or injury. In some Continental countries central or local authorities can exercise a power of compulsory purchase in favour of a threatened monument, and no doubt when the work of the existing British Monument Commissions has been carried further some measure of the kind will be submitted to Parliament. At present all that can be done is to take every possible advantage of opportunities for friendly purchase at a fair price, such as is here offered, and natives of Edinburgh, or of Scotland, with others who value these historical relics of the past of our land and are willing to help, are asked to communicate with the secretary of the Cockburn Association, Mr. Andrew E. Murray, W.S., 43, Castle-street, Edinburgh, who will gladly receive and acknowledge any contributions.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 25 January 1911.

THE SURROUNDINGS OF HOLYROOD.

January 24, 1911.

Sir,- The scheme for the improvement of the surroundings of Holyrood, explained and illustrated in *The Scotsman* of to-day, involves "the removal of some old property." This old property happens to include one of the best preserved and most characteristic pieces of old Edinburgh domestic architecture of the suburban type now left to us, the well-known three-gabled tenement on the left as one passes into the open space before the Palace. The artistic effect of this little building as opposed to the mass of the Palace is most pleasing. It gives scale to it, and it links it with the older structures of the Canongate, with which in historical associations Holyrood is so closely connected. The three powers chiefly concerned in this scheme, the Crown, the Office of Works, and the Town Council have all recently declared themselves in favour of the preservation by every means in our power of those old structures of historical or artistic value that have happily escaped the all too prevalent "removals of old property" in the past; and are we really to suppose that this scheme in its present form will receive their assent? A good deal may be done to improve the surroundings of Holyrood, and it may be found that this will make a suitable national memorial to the late King, but such improvement may surely be carried out without the cruel act of destruction now contemplated.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 6 February 1911.

THE APPROACH TO HOLYROOD.

Sir,—Holyrood is very well situated in regard to access. Excellent roads without objectionable gradients lead through the park to the south and east, while up Abbey Mount and along Easter Road there is a good line to the seaport on the north. For communication with the city and for all purposes of ceremonial approach and departure, there is one proper road of access and one only, and that is a long the familiar route of the High Street and the Canongate. Considerations of convenience, of topography, of historic association, and, I may add, of the pleasure of august visitors who may favour Holyrood and Edinburgh with their presents, are all involved in this. The commonsense, the good taste, and the broad, one might almost say the democratic, sympathies of our Royal Family give quite enough assurance that the members of it would much prefer being driven up and down the Canongate than round by Abbey Mount. To facilitate the regular employment of this direct and easily sloping route of access the paving of it would have to be considerably improved, and, if the city looked after it in this material sense, we can be quite sure that on the occasion of Royal progress is the inhabitants of the quarter would vie with each other in making everything is clean and trim as possible, and in giving a holiday aspect to the grim but infinitely interesting old tenements. Let us remember that the King is dear alike to all classes of his subjects, and is in sympathy with the lives of all of them.

The use of Holyrood for the purposes of a Royal Palace and of the old direct line for communication between the Abbey Palace and the town would have on the older parts of the latter a social effect of the most beneficial kind. It is unfortunate that some modern “city improvements” have not only led to disastrous demolitions of our fine old domestic buildings, but to the obliteration of some of the natural features of the site of Edinburgh. This is against modern principles of town planning. The running of solid causeways rather than light bridges across the low-lying valleys has had the effect of cutting off communication between the upper and lower levels of the town, and of thrusting the latter down into squalor. The cities of the well-to-do and of the poor are in this way sharply sundered, with the worst possible social and economic effects. Most happily the long line from the Castle to Holyrood is still open and accessible from every part, and there is no duty more incumbent on the citizens than to assist in gradually raising the social condition of the poorer parts of the town by the various agencies available. The name of Patrick Geddes will deservedly be held in honour for the practical measures he has taken with this aim, by settling communities of the well-to-do among these Old Town tenements, and now by turning waste plots in among the houses into little gardens for the children. There is nothing that helps more potently in this process of gradual social regeneration than running a stream of traffic through a poor locality. The improvement made in its neighbourhood by Shaftesbury Avenue in London is a case in point. If the character of the Canongate were permanently raised by making it a Royal access this would be incidentally a very good kind of memorial to the late King Edward. We must remember that the buildings, though gaunt and old, are by no means squalid. There is no “tumbledown” property, and no eyesores, while every foot of the way suggests the associations which link the old Royal residents to the city.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

P.S. – The question touched on in this letter is connected with the whole subject of town planning now occupying public attention. It is much to be hoped that realisation will be possible of the project, now under consideration, of bringing to Edinburgh for two or three weeks the interesting and instructive Town Planning Exhibition now opening in London. The various exhibits, many of them from abroad, are now brought together and readily available, whereas later on they will be scattered.

The Scotsman, 12 June 1911.

CHARLOTTE SQUARE.

Edinburgh, June 9, 1911.

Sir,- The article on the subject in a recent issue of *The Scotsman* will, it may be hoped, opened the eyes of the wider artistic public outside Edinburgh to the danger which threatens a monument that really concerns the country at large. It is well known that Edinburgh and Bath possess the best examples of domestic work in the neo-classic style that Britain has to show, and among these undoubtedly the finest is Charlotte Square. Into Charlotte square the Town Council has agreed to introduce a large modern monument, which, however excellent it may be in itself, will be an intrusive feature, throwing out of harmony an *ensemble* that depends for its aesthetic effect on the dignity and repose which marks the style of Robert Adam. The suggestion that the lost balance will be restored by the future addition of other monuments in the remaining corners of the square opens up the most alarming prospect. Who is to guarantee the artistic character of what is to come? If the present proposal is, after all, carried into effect, we shall in the future have every memorial committee urging its claim to a site in the Square, and it is quite possible that objectionable schemes, skilfully engineered, may come to be adopted. Let us remember what has been the ultimate issue of the original modest proposal to run a single connecting line of rails through Princes' Street Gardens! The other day the Town Council, acting quite within its powers, rejected a proposal that it should consult on aesthetic questions an Advisory Council outside its own body, an arrangement, it may be noted, that is in operation in some of the most practical and business-like of countries, such as the United States and Prussia. If the members of the Council decide to retain in these matters perfect independence of action, they should surely act with caution, and in a conservative spirit, when dealing with artistic possessions such as Charlotte Square. No doubt they have been placed in a somewhat difficult position, and this may explain the very surprising decision at which they have recently arrived. The interests at stake are, however, so great, that even at the eleventh hour they may reasonably be appealed to to reconsider the whole question.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Times, 14 October 1911.

THE TATTERSHALL VANDALISM.

University of Edinburgh, Oct. 10.

Sir,—I have been waiting day after day to see if someone familiar with the details of this sorry story would, with your permission, give, for the information of the public and in the interests of the future, a succinct account of what has been done and who have been concerned in the doing of it. There are elements in the transaction that make it a disgraceful one for any civilised country. I do not refer to the mere fact of the sale or alienation of works of art of national interest. This may be deplorable, but it is not easy to prevent, and in this case there was one element of good that, as with Lord Lansdowne's Rembrandt, a chance was given for purchase by or on behalf of the nation. It is the brutal treatment meted out to the fine work of old English art that should move the indignation of the public, and in this way make a repetition of the scandal less easy in times to come. If I am right the vendors were directors of a substantial bank, and were no doubt men of position and education, yet they gave orders for a perfectly barbaric act of vandalism. It is all very well to plead "the interest of the shareholders." No directors could, of course, be compelled on such a plea to do any illegal act, but this tearing out the fittings of Tattershall Castle, and the consequent mutilation of a building in its way of almost unique value, ought to be equally impossible as an illegal act to men who as citizens should be jealous of the national honour and above the vulgar piece of hooliganism that has been committed. The agents in the affair appear to be a firm of repute as art dealers. If this be so a pretty title for dealing with works of art they have secured for themselves by an act of odiousness of which should have been fully apparent to them. As for the unfortunate purchaser, how much credit is he likely to get from his friends and from his public when he pieces together his dearly bought fragments, and adorns a Transatlantic mansion with English 15th century carving of which one of the chief interests is its heraldry!

A good deal has been said in this connexion about legislation, but, as Continental experience shows, it is difficult in such a matter to make effective laws, and those who know this best are the readiest to acknowledge that after all the best protection of the national treasures of art is public opinion. "Les lois," wrote a French publicist, "si bonnes soient elles, ne donnent en pareille matière que des moyens d'action très restreints. C'est le gout et la conscience du public qu'il faudrait lentement reformer." This seems just the opportunity for public opinion to assert itself and stigmatise the sort of work that has been going on in Lincolnshire as below the standard of our race and time. If owners, dealers, and purchasers were to lose caste when they combine to mutilate fine works of mediaeval art and be brought to see themselves as others see them, some gain for the future would be won even out of the Tattershall tragedy.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 21 October 1912.

THE CARE OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS IN SCOTLAND.

University of Edinburgh, October 18, 1912.

Sir,—The proceedings before the joint Parliamentary Committee on Ancient Monuments reported in your issue of October 17 merit to the careful attention of all who are interested in the future of ancient monuments in Scotland. Some of the evidence given in support of the administrative decree, which has transferred the immediate supervision of these monuments from the head of the Office of Works in Scotland to an English expert, is to say the least of it, somewhat surprising. It is stated that, “owing to other heavy calls on his time, the principal architect in H.M. Office of Works in Edinburgh had found it impossible to take charge of the ancient monuments in Scotland or to properly deal with them.” If this be the case, seeing the great advantage which would accrue if Scottish monuments were still administered from a Scottish centre, it should surely be possible so to adjust the other work that falls upon Mr Oldrieve’s shoulders that he would be able and willing to look after our ancient monuments as he has done till the recent administrative change. It goes without saying that the present writer has no idea of casting the slightest reflection on the competency of the present inspector of ancient monuments, whose headquarters are in London. So far as concerns the actual treatment of the monuments, even of those of a specially Scottish type, they would be quite as safe in the hands of Mr Peers as in those of the head of the Scottish Office of Works. We have, however, to consider the proprietors of the monuments in their relations with the central authority, the situation of many of the monuments in connection with the nature of the country, the specialities of Scottish monuments and Scottish methods of work, and, above all, Scottish feeling, which becomes a little uneasy when matters of distinctly national import are suddenly whisked away to be settled for the future in London. The witness from whose evidence a sentence has been quoted above spoke with great weight and authority as to the need for a separate Advisory Board for Scotland, but at the same time endeavoured to combat the doubts expressed by members of the Committee as to whether this would not almost necessarily involved the replacing of the Scottish Monuments under the Office of Works in Edinburgh. Surely this is the common sense of the situation. Mr Oldrieve is acknowledged to be both competent and practised in the work required. He is a member of the Royal Commission for the Inventorisation of Ancient Monuments in Scotland, and is, or can at once be brought, in personal touch with the proprietors and local bodies through whose goodwill alone can measures of preservation be timeously set on foot. If some readjustment of the more formal duties of his office could be carried out, he might surely be put into a position to resume these important functions of which he has so recently been relieved.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 17 March, 1913.

PROPOSED ERECTIONS IN PRINCES STREET GARDENS.

University of Edinburgh, March 15, 1913.

Sir,—I have asked several people whom I know to be interested in the amenity of Edinburgh whether they have noticed the project for the erection of a winter garden, about which “it is understood that the site proposed is at the extreme west end of Princes Street Gardens.” The short paragraph in *The Scotsman* of a few days ago from which these words are quoted seems to have escaped general notice, but the scheme is one to which the attention of the public should be drawn. It appears to be a revival of a proposal which has been made before, but has been emphatically disapproved of, and there is little doubt that now, as on previous occasions, the public opinion of the citizens will be strongly against it. If you will kindly grant me space, I should like to deal in a few sentences with this question on broad lines.

In London a day or two ago the Dean and Chapter of St Paul’s approached the Lord Mayor “inviting the Corporation to enter into a general agreement with them for the purpose of safeguarding the Cathedral” from certain dangers specified, the purpose it is explained, being that of “drawing a kind of sacred area round the building,” so that no proposals could in the future be made, or at any rate considered by the authorities, which would endanger the national Cathedral. Here is a hint for us in Edinburgh. What is our position? We possess, like some other cities, a fine park-like open space of varied surface, well laid out, in the very centre of the urban area, but we have also, as the most prominent feature in this, what no other city in the world possesses in such a situation, an object that so combines natural beauty and historical interest that it has only one possible rival in the world, the Acropolis of Athens. This, by the way, is for beauty not comparable with our Rock. The fact that Princes Street Gardens form a tenemos to Edinburgh Castle Rock should make them sacred from any airy proposals such as those of erecting the Usher Hall under the exquisite north-eastern slope, cutting off a portion for a flight of steps proposed by a perfectly irresponsible individual, or filling up the western corner with an erection like that of a winter garden. If the site for this is intended to be the north-western corner of the Gardens where these run up under St Cuthbert’s and St John’s Churches, then I say without hesitation that what is projected is a very serious mistake. Owing to our cold and often damp summers, that particular part of the Gardens is too shady to be much frequented, but the beauty of it when seen from Princes Street is beyond all price, and the loss of it would be one of the most serious that the city could suffer. There is one alteration that would technically impinge on the Gardens which I have always held would be a great improvement. This is the widening of the pavement on the south side of Princes Street, and the construction of a terrace, with places for the display of sculpture overlooking the Gardens. This would improve them from the aesthetic point of view, because it would materially assist our enjoyment of the unique prospect they afford. This alteration apart, it should, I venture to urge, be laid down as a fundamental principle, which can never be called in question, that no encroachment on Princes Street Gardens, such as those under consideration, shall ever be permitted. Any Lord Provost who should signalise his term of office by establishing a sort of Monroe Doctrine embodying this principle would earn the lasting gratitude of his fellow-citizens.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 10 May 1913.

THE PROPOSED STAIRCASE AT THE MOUND.

University of Edinburgh, May 3, 1913.

Sir,— I have not troubled you hitherto with any communication on this subject, because in common with many who are specially interested in preserving the amenity of the city, I did not think there was any real prospect of the proposal going through. There are features connected with it that make it superficially attractive to those who have to do with the business interests of the citizens, and that would commend it at first sight to a large number of the Town Council. There are, however, such things as second thoughts, and there are also experienced and influential members of the Corporation who, one felt sure, must view with grave misgivings this hazardous experiment, and who could be trusted at the proper time to make their views effective. Over all there was the authority of the Office of Works, and one remembered with confidence the large-minded policy of this Department in recent years in matters concerning amenity and the preservation of our monumental heritage from the past. At the present moment, unfortunately, indications are not wanting that the citizens will have to bestir themselves if the proposal is finally to be set aside. Pressure from quite unexpected quarters appears to be now exercised on a Government Department, which, after all, is vulnerable, while the expressions of opinion in a hostile sense which the proposal originally evoked tend to be forgotten. The Council of the Cockburn Association, that is often unjustly accused of lethargy, entered its protest at once against what is regarded from its point of view as an objectionable scheme, and the views then urged are before the proper authorities. The support which the Association has usually received from persons in official positions, like the members of Parliament for the city, it cannot in this case rely on, for one read with unfeigned surprise some of the names of those who supported the recent deputation to the First Commissioner of Works. What now are the arguments in favour of the proposal?

It was launched on the community by a well-meaning but wholly irresponsible private citizen, and was made from the outset financially attractive. But the responsible rulers of the city must necessarily look beyond the immediate financial allurements, and ask themselves whether there is a demand from the point of view of public convenience or of art for the proposed structure. To foot passengers coming up the Mound it would offer the choice of a climb up a flight of steps to the continuous ascent along the present pathway. Some might prefer the first, others the second – at any rate, there is not much in it from this point of view. With respect to wheeled traffic, when one regards the roadway at the bottom of the proposed steps, one cannot conceive any worse place in the city for carriages to manoeuvre in. Then there is the argument urged by the Knox Club, that a site would be provided in this way for the statue of their patron saint. Now everyone would desire to see an effigy of one of Edinburgh's greatest citizens in a suitable public position of honour, but why condemn the statue of John Knox to stand, like so many of its brethren in adversity, with its back to the light? Surely a better site could be found for the statue, and one where there would be nothing to put it out of scale. As regards the intrinsic beauty of the proposed erection, I prefer not to speak. There is no question, however, that the successful designing of a monumental stairway, on a site where the slopes make the artistic treatment particularly difficult, is a matter demanding the very best architectural talent that the country can supply,

and I am certainly not prepared to welcome the staircase as now projected as an addition to the aesthetic attractions of the city.

On the other side, the arguments against the proposal are not only to be enforced by words, but are of a kind that anyone can realise who, with a mind open to impressions of what is sublime and beautiful, turns the north-west corner of Bank Street and passes down the Mound. The way in which the Castle Rock, in one of its most beautiful aspects, gradually comes into view over the smooth slope of greensward is about the best thing of the kind that any city in the world has to show, and it is in the very middle of the town, open to us it may be to enjoy several times a day. We want to keep that slope of green sward, and all the rest of the Gardens, inviolate as a tenement to the Castle Rock, and to hold them in trust for posterity, and it would be unworthy of the city in any way to betray its trust, either for thirty hundred pieces of money, or for other considerations, the baselessness of which I have endeavoured to exhibit.

I am, etc.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Times, 28 October, 1913.

PREHISTORIC CAIRNS AS ROAD MATERIAL.

University of Edinburgh, Oct.25.

Sir,—*The Times* has rendered such essential service to the cause of preservation of the ancient historical monuments of these islands that I venture to ask you if you would accord publicity to this note on an act of vandalism just committed in an outlying district. It is only by turning the attention of the country generally to this subject that a repetition of these disgraceful acts can be prevented. A paragraph in a recent issue of an important journal begins as follows: —

An interesting discovery has been made in the wild and mountainous pass of Drumochter, some 3 miles to the south of Dalwhinnie, where Glasgow contractors are carrying on operations on that part of the Badenoch District Committee's roads in connection with the Central Road Board grant. The stones of a large cairn close by the Great North Road, between Perth and Inverness, were being utilised for road metalling purposes, and while engaged in removing these stones the workman, &c... Further operations revealed a stone cist or coffin in the centre of the cairn.... The cist was formed of a large rough slab supported by rows of upright stones, suggestive of Pictish origin.

This precious description is headed "Interesting Discovery in the Highlands," instead of "Disgraceful Act of Vandalism," and the destruction is reported with the utmost *naïveté* as if it were the most natural operation in the world!

The Royal Commission on the Ancient Monuments of Scotland has constantly appealed to public bodies that have the control of the roads to forbid such intolerable acts, and has been constantly assured that orders are given which should make them impossible, yet here is a contractor allowed calmly to destroy to the bottom this notable prehistoric structure, belonging to a class that the Government and the country generally are bent on preserving.

I am, etc.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 13 December 1913.

PROPOSED WINTER GARDEN

University of Edinburgh, December 12, 1913

Sir,— The proposal to erect a £10,000 structure in West Princes Street Gardens will certainly excite some controversy among the citizens, and as one of those who are opposed, on grounds of public policy, to any encroachment of the kind, I should like to make two points clear at the outset. In the first place, those who object to the present proposal are in no way out of sympathy with the desire of the Town Council to provide a place of shelter and entertainment for visitors. There are other ways in which this could be done. For example, there is a general impression that in the course of time it may be possible to utilise for the purpose the Waverley Market. In the second place, if any of us oppose in the interests of amenity projects of the Town Council or any of its committees, we do so in a spirit of courtesy and moderation, and with a full recognition of the great service performed daily by the representatives of the city through their labour and care in administration and finance. May we ask in return that our memorials be received and treated in the same spirit? Memorialists turn out sometimes to be right, and it may be that the final decision in this matter will be to preserve intact our magnificent heritage from the past in the great enclosure which enshrines the Castle Rock. In any case let us give each other credit for good intentions. The Town Council is, of course, rightly vigilant in the matter of saving expense to the community, and a free building site in the centre of this city offers great attractions. The danger is that, if once the principle be conceded of dumping down in the Gardens any useful structure, which it would be expensive to locate elsewhere, we may come in time to lose a good part of the heritage just referred to.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown

The Scotsman, 5 January 1914.

THE PROPOSED WINTERGARDEN FOR EDINBURGH.

University of Edinburgh, January 3, 1914.

Sir,— Sir Robert Maule asks, “Is this matter of amenity to be the only determining consideration in a question of public utility?” I answer unhesitatingly, “As regards the present question, yes.” Where West Princes Gardens and the surroundings of the Castle Rock are concerned amenity is the only ground on which a matter of this kind should be decided. Otherwise, as the site is central, accessible, and cheap, it might soon be covered with buildings of public utility. Let us remember that more than a century ago amenity, and amenity alone, saved Edinburgh from the disaster of having buildings along the south side of Princes Street. Public utility, financial considerations, the decision of the Town Council, ay, even, it is whispered, the strict letter of the law, were all sacrificed in the famous judgement of Lord Mansfield to the one consideration of amenity, and the result was something like the salvation of the town. Let us hope that the decision of the Town Council on the question now before it will save Edinburgh from what might well be the beginning of the disaster almost as great as that referred to above.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

THE REPAIR OF ANCIENT BUILDINGS.

The University, Edinburgh, 2nd Jan. 1914.

Sir,— I regret that I was not present at the meeting on the 15th December when the important subject of the treatment of our Ancient Monuments was under discussion. Had I been there I might have ventured to add a word in respect to the past rather than to the future. The latter bulked so largely in the proceedings that readers of the opening speech in the discussion would derive the impression that a clean sweep had been made of past methods, former officials had been jettisoned, and in the future ancient buildings would be treated in a manner in which Momus himself could find nothing to criticise. Later speeches by some of those who will have the actual work in hand correct this impression. These wary officials know only too well that in the face of the ever-varying problems presented by our old monuments, with their differences in material, situation, and condition, it is impossible to please everyone. They are aware that all their taste, skill, and experience, the quality and extent of which one acknowledges with the utmost cordiality and satisfaction – that all these technical qualifications, to say nothing of genius, will not avail to save some of their proceedings from being called into question. They will go on doing their best, profiting by the errors of their forerunners, and will make a better business of preservation than it has ever been made before, but they would probably be the last to claim infallibility. This consideration emboldens me to question whether justice was done on 15th December to the work of the last decade. It seems absurd to defend a Government Department against itself, but it really is not the case, as might naturally be inferred, that monuments such as Holyrood, Glasgow Cathedral, and Edinburgh Castle have been for the last few years under the care of architects “who have not had the opportunity of an actual expert training.” Had this been so there are some of us in Scotland who would have had a word to say on the matter. It would hardly be guessed by the uninstructed reader of the speech from which I have quoted that these and other Scottish monuments have in recent years been under the care of an architect of great technical experience, who is moreover a Fellow of the Institute, a Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and a Member of the Royal Commission on Ancient Scottish Monuments. When one compares his treatment of the buildings with that which at any rate Edinburgh Castle used to receive – I have in my mind a definite illustration – and remembers how careful and conservative he has been in his operations over a wide area, one’s sense of what is just and generous is not a little offended at the summary way in which he and his work have been thrown over. Some expressions in the Paper itself conveyed a false impression, and gave an unfortunate lead that was only too readily taken up. Mr. Forsyth condemns, as we all do, the French system of wholesale “restoration,” and then goes on in his next paragraph to hint that the same sins have been in process of commission here. What he really means is not that there has been “restoration” but “too much repair,” and this is rather a different matter. He seemed to me to explain what was in his mind in his speech of acknowledgement when he complains of a certain ruin that it looks now a new ruin. This may or may not apply to Holyrood, but I can quite understand the expression in this connection. It is one of the difficulties that confront the repairer that he cannot really tell what condition a building is in without destroying a good deal of the lovely patina of age that covers it. The reader of the Paper insisted on the need for a thorough diagnosis, and

deprecated the merely “hasty and limited inspection.” Now, the doctor does not, as a rule, diagnose a patient with all his clothes on, and a certain stripping of a structure seems in many cases an essential preliminary to any thorough remedial treatment. I know in the case of Holyrood that cavities in parts of the fabric that threatened their stability were only revealed through the removal of the old surface patina, though this removal represented an aesthetic loss. Happily the atmosphere of “Auld Reekie” will before very long replace what has gone! This, of course, is a matter on which there will be the differences of opinion I have referred to, and I am not setting up my own personal judgement. Rather would I remind members of the Art Committee of the Institute, and their former capable and experienced Secretary, of the judgement they themselves as experts passed on the work on this very building when it was in progress. Mr. Forsyth himself wrote for a report on what was being done, and on the basis not of this only, but of the photographs by which it was accompanied, they expressed themselves “satisfied that the work of repair is being conducted with all the reverent care that could be desired for this venerable and historic structure.” * It has certainly struck me as somewhat curious that no members of the Art Committee present on the 15th December remembered their own decision of a few years ago, and by saying a word in season tempered with some justice to the past the enthusiasm for the new heavens and the new earth that had taken possession of the meeting.

I am, &c,

G. Baldwin Brown [Hon.A.]

*Journal R.I.B.A., 20th March 1909, Vol. XVI. p.356

The Scotsman, 16 July 1914.

RENAMING OF ANCIENT STREETS.

University of Edinburgh, July 15, 1914.

Sir,— In the administration of an urban area like Edinburgh considerations of many kinds have to be kept in view, but surely with us one of the more important of these is the preservation of the historical associations, which are among the best possessions of the city. If all the old names of the streets are to be changed because some of the inhabitants find them not quite up-to-date, Edinburgh will suffer serious loss. Mistakes have been made in this way in the past, as when the famous old Horse Wynd became Guthrie Street, though that honoured name might easily have been celebrated in other ways. Happily, West Bow survives, though almost swallowed up by “Victoria Street,” and College Wynd is still with us, in name at any rate. Part of the old historical Causewayside was, however, quite recently rechristened by some colourless modern title, and now South Back of Canongate is apparently to disappear in favour of some more aristocratic appellation, and only four Town Councillors could be found to take the larger view of the interests of the town as a whole. Where is this process to end? Unless public opinion, which showed itself recently so alert and intelligent in the matter of Princes Street Gardens, bestir itself and intervene, we shall be in danger of losing little by little the ancient names which are part of the very life of the town.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 15 September 1914.

GERMAN MEMBERS OF THE EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY STAFF.

Levenhall, September 14.

Sir,—Being absent from Edinburgh, I regarded the paragraph in your issue of Saturday relating to the above as based on some misapprehension which would promptly be removed, but we have apparently to accept it as it stands. As I am now the senior member but one of the University teaching staff, I have the greatest possible respect for the academic authorities, and nothing but the importance of the principle at stake would lead me to question publicly their action. At any crisis “the state of public opinion” may be differently gauged by different people, but the only kind of public opinion which can be invoked to justify this reported action is that represented by the remark of the little girl in *Punch* about her German governess, to whom she is devoted, “Mamma, are we going to kill Fraülein?”

What grounds that appeal to one’s sober reason are there for the severance of a long and fruitful connection of the members of the teaching staff with honoured colleagues? In one case we might just as well go on to abolish the study of Teutonic philology and of the German language from our curriculum, for it would be ridiculous to pretend still to teach these and at the same time to bar instructors of German birth. I venture, therefore, as an individual member of the staff to question the present action in the interests of our British reputation for level-headedness, for this broad hint intended as an equivalent to dismissal seems very much like an imitation of one of the numerous blunders, which are petty as well as colossal, of the present administrators of Germany. For my part, I sincerely hope that the gentlemen in question will not resign.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 23 September, 1914.

THE DESTRUCTION AT REIMS.

University of Edinburgh, September 22, 1914.

Sir,— The senseless barbarity of which the Germans have been guilty at Reims is a greater crime against what the German people have always pretended to reverence than at first appears. Reims was not merely one great Gothic Cathedral among many. In its architecture it may be regarded as such, but in its decorative sculpture it was unique. Over and above the wealth of sculpture in its portals, in which Amiens and Chartres are its counterparts, it possessed what no other Gothic church of the first-class could boast, exquisite sculptured figure decoration disposed all about the building on its higher levels. Nowhere has the Gothic spirit expressed itself more perfectly than in these lovely figures that simply swarmed in the upper niches of its towers and buttresses, and have been, of course, especially exposed to injury from the insensate fury of the bombardment. I hope when the war is over that all which is left of the building will be suffered to remain, not “restored,” but preserved as a monument for future times to the shame of German militarism, and a prick to the then reawakened conscience of the German people. It is obvious that the destruction was deliberate and not accidental, for however bad as marksmen the German privates are with the rifle, their artillery men do not let their shots stray from a desired line; and if the care now taken of works of art in Belgium be quoted on the other side, it should be pointed out that the latter are being regarded as prospective “loot.”

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 17 October 1914

BRITISH MARINES INTERNED IN HOLLAND

University of Edinburgh, October 16, 1914.

Sir,- The following extract from a letter I have received from a well-informed correspondent at The Hague may be of interest to some readers of *The Scotsman*.

“Please note, and you may ask *The Scotsman* if they will put it in, that our Bureau of Information for interned soldiers (Convention of Geneva) is at the Palace Kneuterdijk, The Hague, Holland. It is in splendid working order, and operates with an individual card-register system, but it will take some time to enter them all. Of course, these soldiers we cannot send back, as we did your shipwrecked bluejackets, and they are to remain until the end of the war. Letters and parcels can be sent to them, free of carriage and duty. Of course they are not prisoners of war, but interned soldiers, for whom Art. 16 of the ‘Convention respecting the laws and customs of war on land, signed at the second Peace Conference (1907), holds good.

“16. Inquiry offices enjoy the privilege of free postage. Letters, money orders, and valuables, as well as parcels by post, intended for prisoners of war, or dispatched by them, shall be exempt from all post duties in the countries of origin and destination, as well as in the countries they pass through.

“Presents and relief in kind for prisoners of war shall be admitted free of all import or other duties, as well as of payments for carriage by the State railways.”

I am, &c.,

G. Baldwin Brown

The Scotsman, 1 December 1914

COMMERCIAL EXPLOITATION OF THE WAR

University of Edinburgh, November 30, 1914

Sir,- The war is revealing many noble qualities in the national character, but also some uncommonly mean ones, and amongst these the practice indicated in the title of this letter is prominent. I use for the purposes of lantern demonstration at the University a certain fitting made in Germany, of which the supply is now cut off. It costs normally 3s. 6d. A certain number still remain in stock in this country, and I have just obtained a supply from London at the price of 6s., of which in the circumstances I do not complain. What I do object to is the price of 10s. which I have just had to pay for a specimen obtained a few days ago from an Edinburgh firm, and this in the face of the fact that I made it clear that the current London price was not much more than half that amount. Truly "Scotland takes the lead" in more branches of activity than one expected, after its fine recruiting record.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown

The Scotsman, 22 February 1915.

MURRAYFIELD HOUSE.

University of Edinburgh, February 20.

Sir,—The question of the destruction or preservation of this well-known landmark of the attractive suburban district of Murrayfield is no new one, but the difference between present conditions and those that prevailed a dozen or more years ago is very great. Of recent years the Government, rightly interpreting the intelligent public opinion of the country, has shown a marked solicitude for the preservation of the monuments representing our older social history, and a building like the one in question has now far stronger claims for consideration than in former days, when so much of value in Edinburgh as elsewhere was destroyed with a light heart in the name of “modern improvements.” Hence an appeal may confidently be made to the Town Council, and especially to the Local Government Board, to make the preservation and not the removal of the house an integral part of the town planning scheme now under consideration. The word “especially” is used because the important Town Planning Conference held two or three years ago in London was presided over by the then head of the Local Government Board, and the present Government is pledged to consider all schemes of this kind in the broad and enlightened spirit in which the recent Town Planning Act was conceived, and in which the public should insist on its being administered. Buildings of the class of Murrayfield House, on which Professor Saintsbury has written with full knowledge, are of value not only because there are people whose taste it suits to live in them, but because they can, as an alternative, be used for public or semi-public purposes, and remain, like Aston Hall at Birmingham, or Christchurch Museum at Ipswich, structures of historical and artistic interest, serving a modern purpose, but affording a pleasing contrast to the commonplace modernness about them. The house is as valuable in its own modest way as Roseburn House, or Croft-an-Righ, or Merchiston Castle, and the value of these possessions, now happily recognised, will increase as the years go on.

If it be replied to this that the house stands in the way of the prolongation in a direct line of the present Murrayfield Avenue, the answer is ready – from the point of view of the intelligent town planning opinion of to-day this is an advantage. At the conference before referred to, in which representatives of the Edinburgh Corporation took part, the truth was emphasised that the day for long direct routes and regular geometrical schemes is over, and the principal now in vogue is variety. In the older towns, the artistic effects in which are now so admired, it is pointed out in a standard work on town planning that “the builders seem... to have been generally capable of seizing upon accidental irregularities, and making something definitely fitting and beautiful out of them,” and there certainly exists enough architectural talent in Edinburgh to effect something of this order in dealing with the problem now presented.

A question of this kind is not so remote from the subject of absorbing interest of the hour as might be assumed. The unpardonable public crime of Germany in Belgium has resulted in the destruction of numerous buildings of historical and artistic value in that country. If we ourselves have been so far spared similar or worse inflictions, it is all the more incumbent on us to preserve on our part as carefully as we can this part of our heritage from the past.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Times, 2 December 1916

THE GERMAN LEVY EN MASSE.

Sir,- When there is a demand for whole-hearted national effort those whose life and interests lie in the paths of peace, and who lack even the bellicose vein of the theologian, may perhaps have their say with the rest. It seems to me that this levy *en masse* of the Germans is one of the best things that could have happened for us, for it gives us the lead for which we have lately been looking in vain. The ultimate result will be to show that the Germans have made one more elemental mistake. They began in the confident belief that they alone could [really fight], and that while the Fatherland was of constant soul the population of other countries would lose heart under visitations of "frightfulness." They boasted of their organization and power of work, and thought the French would muddle, the Russians delay, and the easy-going British only shrug their shoulders. In all suppositions they have been proved mistaken, and in the present case also we shall see that other nations can in their own way concentrate the energies of every soul among the people on the organization of victory.

It has been said that this resolution of the Germans is perhaps the biggest thing of the war. I venture to think that the adoption *nemine contradicente* by this country of universal military service was a still bigger one, and when the Prime Minister and members of the Cabinet are being subjected to criticism it should be remembered with what success they carried through a reform that many very good judges deemed absolutely impracticable. The German people, if they can do anything, can obey, and their obedience even on this vast scale will be nothing extraordinary. Meanwhile our people and the people of our allies, as the uncompromising and claimant necessity of the hour becomes more and more clearly realized, must gird themselves anew, taking stock of all their forces, and drawing fresh inspiration from the difficulties, privations, and manifold labours we are called on to conquer, to endure and to fulfil. The House of Commons has failed us and is more useful as a warning than as an example, but for a lead we do look to the Government. It is rather a vain occupation to criticize what they do or leave undone in administrative measures, for we never have the real facts before us; but we can and we do ask them to put fresh heart into the people by heading a vigorous crusade against all the elements in the national life that hamper our onward movement towards the perhaps still distant but inevitable victory. The time has gone by for fatuous exhortations; it is commands we want, unambiguous, decisive, and for immediate fulfilment.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown

November 30.

The Scotsman, 2 January 1917.

DO THE CITIZENS REALISE THE TRAMWAY POSITION?

University of Edinburgh, January 1 1917.

Sir,—The tramway question is not one that can be put out of mind by the citizens even on account of the war. The actual reinstallation of our means of internal traction may not be accomplished for some time, but opinions on the subject are now being formed and even crystallised, negotiations are in progress, and it is possible that contracts may be entered into which would practically bind the city to a certain course of action. Hence the question at the head of this letter is not an academic but a very insistent one, for a strong expression of public opinion at this juncture may have a very potent effect.

Protests from influential quarters have been already raised in these columns against the establishment in Edinburgh of the overhead system of electric traction, and raised by some who can by no means be accused of indifference to the business interests of the city. These interests have to be safeguarded and extended, but it would be an utter mistake to sacrifice everything to them. There are other sides of Edinburgh life that must be considered as well as the commercial side, and it is because overhead tramway traction would immeasurably reduce the attractiveness of the town that I would venture to ask the citizens in general to bestir themselves in time.

The ugliness of the apparatus of overhead traction needs no demonstration, as it is patent wherever the system is installed. The fact that certain towns, like London, have rejected the system on the grounds of amenity is one of great significance and Edinburgh citizens who form a picture in their own minds of what the system would involve would do well to resolve to follow the example thus set them. London is careful, indeed, of its dignity, but has nothing like so much to spoil as we possess here. The natural and architectural beauties of Edinburgh are by no means confined to Princes Street. Views from the Mound, the North Bridge, the Regent Road, the Melville Drive, and many other parts that might be named, are of rare beauty, and would be most seriously interfered with by a foreground of wires and posts and stays. Princes Street is, however, our chief asset, and some of those who on the ground of economy favour the overhead system will have none of it in Princes Street. Even if we grant, however, that it can be omitted along the general line of the street, the system would appear in full force at each end of it, as well as at the foot of the Mound and St Andrew Street. Let the citizens for a moment compare the aspects of these two ends as they are at present and as they would appear under an overhead system. At the west there is not much architecture to spoil, but there is a most effective view of the Castle Rock, which is the first impression obtained of our unique natural feature by those arriving by the Caledonian from the south. At the east end there is the admirable architecture in the Register House and Waterloo Place. At each point there is now a junction of three routes, while it is quite possible that at the west end there may be projected a fourth route coming down Hope Street from the north and east, and a fifth along Queensferry Street; furthermore, the Portobello line linked onto the system would provide a fourth, also at the east. Can we in imagination form any adequate idea of the complexity and hideousness of the lines and poles and struts and stays that would be here accumulated, or of the multitude of trolley booms that would be waving in the air when hitched across from one wire to another? Let us all, severally, take our stand at either of these two points and project our vision into the future, before we make

up our minds to turn the city into a birdcage. The truth is that the overhead system has certain advantages which have led to its adoption, *faute de mieux*, in a very large number of European towns, but it is open to the gravest possible objections, which come home with special force to the inhabitants of a city like ours. It is not the only system even of tramway traction, and certainly not the only system for a local service of public vehicles. If the citizens in general will give their personal attention to this very important question before it is too late, the city may be saved from another of the disastrous mistakes too common in its past history.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Times, 14 April 1917

BREADSTUFFS MISUSED

Sir,- We are being informed in tones more or less authoritative that there is a certainty of shortage, perhaps of actual failure, in breadstuffs before even the limited supplies from our own fields can be made available. If this be really the case, and the cry of "the wolf at the door" be not merely a forlorn effort to galvanise into life the latent power of forethought and voluntary self-sacrifice of the people at large, why is it that certain obvious measures are so long in coming? The commandeering of all the supplies of breadstuffs existing and to be expected seems to the ordinary observer to be one of these. Another would be the prohibition of the immense output of cakes, fancy bread, &c., which must be consuming uneconomically huge stores of wheaten flour. Scotland is "the land of cakes," and among us here the large bakers and confectioners' shops are bursting every morning with supplies of this kind, all fresh from the oven and far too appetizing for these strenuous times. The cookies, scones, and what not are bought up and devoured because they are so nice, and the consequent over-consumption is worse than foolish. One kind of bread should be made, and that of a judicious mixture of flours, and the people rationed on this. It is unthinkable that, in view of our present position in the war, we should run the risk of military failure owing to any avoidable internal conditions.

What I am venturing to suggest involves, it may be said, compulsion, with its attendant ills, such as the multiplication of machinery, and the possibility of popular resistance. Our present system, however, of "appeals," with house-to-house canvassing, to a large extent futile, is itself a great waste of time and energy. Moreover, I think it will be the general opinion of those taking part in these campaigns that the people are waiting for compulsion and are perfectly ready to accept it. "If the authorities want us," they say, "let them come and take us"; and similarly, if supplies of the staple food are stringently regulated, their acquiescence will follow as a matter of course. "Fancy bread hands" thrown out of employment can be utilized for National Service.

I am, &c.,

G. Baldwin Brown

The Scotsman, 21 April 1917.

THE POLICY OF REPRISALS.

University of Edinburgh, April 20, 1917.

Sir,- The vast majority of those who oppose this policy are not sentimentalists. The mental attitude of all of us toward the German people is one of whole-hearted reprobation, for we all consider them, men and women alike, especially since recent Red Cross revelations, the latter, to be blackened with the same brush as the militarists, and they must be made like the latter to learn bitter lessons through suffering. At the same time I sincerely deplore this Freiburg air raid which will most likely be futile in affecting the German authorities in the manner intended, while it touches somewhat nearly our national honour. There are other peoples, we must remember, on whom this hazardous *démarche* may produce an unfortunate impression. So far as I have heard the opinions of my fellow-citizens, they seem to take this view, and I hope it will prevail.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown

The Scotsman, 28 February 1919.

SCOTTISH NATIONAL WAR MEMORIAL.

University of Edinburgh, February 25, 1919.

Sir,—It will be most unfortunate if the scheme for a Scottish National War Memorial degenerates into an acrimonious discussion about sites. Some hold the Castle to be, for various reasons, unsuitable. Others, of whom I am one, regard the Castle as expressly marked out by nature, history, and associations as the ideal site for an imposing National Memorial of the kind suggested. Neither party will ever convince the other, and if the Castle scheme were carried out only half Scotland would in any case contribute. As matters stand, however, even this half of Scotland will be subscribing all it can well afford to one or other of the countless local war memorials which are being planned in every part of the country.

I am writing, therefore, to suggest whether it will not be best to recognise this widespread and enthusiastic national effort as in itself the Scottish War Memorial, and to give up the monumental chapel or similar erection as under these rapidly developing conditions not really needed. The country is in truth expressing itself as a whole, though not in any single united effort. The name of every one of the honoured dead will now be commemorated near his own home and among his kinsfolk and friends, and the spirit of Scotland may rest in the assurance that the heroism of her sons will not be forgotten. The abandonment of the monumental part of the present still undefined scheme would of course leave untouched the excellent project outlined by the Duke of Atholl for establishing in the Castle regimental memorials and museums, while there is always the Edinburgh local war memorial to be discussed and ultimately planned and placed.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 12 January, 1920.

OLD EDINBURGH HOUSES

University of Edinburgh, January 10, 1920.

Sir,—The awakened public interest in our Old Edinburgh houses is a very satisfactory sign of the times. The Cockburn Association has made it a constant aim to secure as far as is practicable their preservation, on the ground that the character of Old Edinburgh architecture depends, not on a few outstanding monuments, but on the noble look of our great "lands," "piled deep and massy, close and high," which if not presenting what purists would call "architecture," are so monumental in their masses, so effective in their grouping, so varied in their perspective views, at times so quaint and expressive in their details, that their aesthetic as well as their historical value is very great. If the old West Bow still survived and preserved its ancient frontages, the effect of it, with the ascent and the two curves to work magic in the ever-changing perspectives, could be by far the finest thing of the kind in the world. When these seventeenth or eighteenth century houses are removed, the structures that may take their place - Tron Square is an example - though no doubt excellent from certain points of view, are not beautiful, and are totally devoid of Edinburgh character. Fortunately difficulties in the way of preservation are in some respects not so great in Edinburgh as in many other old cities, for in the first place our buildings are of massive stonework, not of brick or even in the half-timber technique. I have heard, once even from the lips of a high civic official, the term "tumbledown" applied to the structures in question, but the truth is that, though perhaps internally and in the matter of roofing out of repair, they are distinctly not "tumbledown" and, in fact, it is sometimes not easy to get them down. When the particularly fine old house at the corner of the West Bow and the Lawnmarket was destroyed about forty years ago, by one of the worst acts of vandalism in the city records, it is said that the greatest difficulty was experienced in breaking up the tremendously solid walls of the building.

In the second place, as many must have noticed, the old fronts are, as a rule, well supplied with windows. Their fenestration, or the ratio of window space to the whole surface of the facade, is often remarkably good. The front of Mylne's Court to the Lawnmarket is an example, and may seem at first glance to be almost all window. This means that there is ample access for light and air to the interiors, and that the external facades of the blocks, on which depend their aesthetic charm, need not, as a rule, be interfered with. In dealing recently with the building last mentioned, the Town Council has given a most valuable object-lesson in preservation. The structure has been entirely remodelled internally, and the houses in it are quite delightful little residences, looking out at the back onto Mylne's Court, which is the best bit of old residential Edinburgh still left to us. All honour to the civic authorities who planned and carried out, at a considerable cost, this admirable work. What we need now is the same spirit in all dealings with the old properties in the city, the fate of which is now trembling in the balance.

I am &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 30 January, 1920.

THE PAINTER AS EXTREMIST.

University of Edinburgh, January 29, 1920.

Sir,— I know that my dear friend, Mr John Duncan, will not be hurt if I say that, for one, I cannot in the least agree with his letter in to-day's *Scotsman*. Mr Cadell's name has been mentioned, and it should be understood that he is no amateur, but has been through the mill, knows his business quite well, and has done admirable work. All the same, the prominent examples of his present style now on exhibition in Edinburgh, which have been the subject of comment, are, to my way of thinking, almost absolutely destitute of artistic value or interest. Fresh colour is easily obtained by squeezing out pigments at random on a canvas, and, for the sake of common sense, do not let us quote the name of Keats in connection with post-impressionism.

As regards the whole artistic movement for which this is a convenient name, I have recently expressed my views in print at the beginning of an accessible little volume, and need only say here that I have great sympathy with it as a revolt against the commonplace realism which in these days of photography is too easy. It struck a salutary blow against the doctrine under which painting and painters have suffered since the time of the first Greek writers on aesthetic – the doctrine that the imitation of nature is the primary aim of painting and, of course, of sculpture also. It is not that. It is only a secondary or incidental aim, or, rather only a means to an end. This end, the true aim of the arts just mentioned, is to produce an aesthetic impression through the eye by an appeal to our sense of visible beauty in the things about us, and to appeal also to the intellectual and ethical associations which these things carry with them, and which necessarily give to the ultimate aesthetic impression a certain intellectual and ethical colour. To achieve this aim the artist does not imitate things, but creates other things sufficiently like them to be recognised, but more subtle in their visible beauty, and capable of a more clear and forcible appeal to the intellectual and ethical associations. There is in the minds of the artists of this most modern school some dim recognition of this doctrine, and to that extent we are grateful to them. There has been, however, a vast deal of nonsense carved and painted, as well as talked, in connection with all this Grafton Gallery business, and there are some critics – I wonder if I may venture to hint that Mr John Duncan is one – who are disposed to like a picture better the more *outré* and absurd it is.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 16 August, 1920.

EDINBURGH CASTLE AND ITS BUILDINGS.

University of Edinburgh, August 14, 1920.

Sir,—By all means let the National Memorial scheme be publicly discussed and the opinion on it be obtained of Sir John Stirling-Maxwell's Advisory Board. There is plenty to be said on the general principle of the Memorial, but I confess to be one who cannot understand the position of downright opposition taken up by Lord Rosebery and some other patriotic Scots. The scheme seems to many of us to have come in, in the very happiest fashion, to save the Castle from becoming derelict, and to give it a new and hallowed place in the national life. Apart, however, from these general questions there is an aesthetic point involved about which a word may be said. This is the possible injury to the Castle by the proposed new structures. The conditions here are such that there is practically nothing to fear. No reasonable scheme such as would be supported by any considerable section of the public would really hurt the Castle. In this case we are not dealing with classical compositions such as Charlotte Square or Waterloo Place, in which perfection of form and finish and accurate balance are essential to the effect, and in regard to which you cannot add or take away anything without marring the deliberately chosen scheme; but, on the contrary, with extensive and irregular collections of buildings, not one of which possesses in itself much pretension to architecture, but which grouped together from various points of view almost always with good artistic effect. An outcry was raised some years ago about the new military hospital at the north-west corner of the site, but as a fact from many points of view it adds greatly to the charm of the ensemble. The same would be the case with the proposed chapel. If it comes to supersede as the dominant feature of the whole composition the gimcrack round turret which now carries the flag, there will be a decided gain, and it is not likely that any other alterations which may be decided on will do harm rather than good. New perspectives may be introduced, but they will be quite as effective as the old. John Constable uttered a saying once that gives in a word the fundamental principle of painting as now understood: — "There is nothing ugly in Nature, for be an object in itself what it may, light, shade, and perspective will always make it beautiful." This sort of beauty Edinburgh Castle and its buildings will always give us, and even the block overlooking Castle Terrace, though in itself ugly enough, adds not a little by its mass, especially on a distant view, to the noble impressiveness of the whole. Do not let us be afraid about the Memorial in its effect on the Castle.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 15 October, 1920.

TOWN PLANNING AND THE WATER OF LEITH.

University of Edinburgh, October 14, 1920.

Sir,—In a recent letter to *The Scotsman*, Mr Sterling Craig has called attention to a most important point in town planning which seems in some danger of being lost sight of in connection with feuing schemes in the Saughtonhall district. In such schemes the amenity of natural features should surely be exploited to the utmost, and should, where practicable, be made the guiding elements in the arrangement of streets and buildings, instead of being regarded as mere boundaries. In the laying out, in the last century, of the Moray Place district the beauty of the deep ravine of the Water of Leith was quite ignored, and a continuous line of houses from the west end of Randolph Crescent to Doune Terrace cuts off entirely the view of it from the town, while the designer had no foresight of the extension of Edinburgh beyond the ravine to the further side, and accordingly crowned the bold and effective wooded slopes on the right bank of the stream with the unsightly backs of his houses, instead of with well composed facades. Now the Water of Leith from Coltbridge to Gorgie is, of course, comparatively tame, but the stream, with its pools and shallows, and its banks that are shaded by occasional willows, are in their own quiet way delightful, and it would be a thousand pities if the estates were laid out without making the most of these undoubted charms. Houses should face the stream, and roads be so devised as to encourage access to the banks. The stream as it runs by the eastern limits of Saughtonhall gardens has never been taken into the scheme of their laying out, though this might be done without much difficulty, and it is really important, before it is too late, to consider intelligently this natural feature, in view of imminent and future developments in the neighbourhood in question.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 23 November, 1920.

A CORPUS OF RUNIC INSCRIPTIONS.

The University, Edinburgh, November 22, 1920.

Sir,—Will you kindly grant us permission through the hospitality of your columns to make the following appeal for help in an archaeological undertaking? We are preparing for publication by the Cambridge University Press and Annotated Corpus of Runic Inscriptions in Great Britain, on or in stone, bone, wood, metal, or other such material, and we shall be most grateful if any of your readers interested in the subject will kindly bring under our notice any newly discovered specimen and any example which we are not likely to know. Runically inscribed objects contained in the larger and better-known public collections, or published in archaeological works of national scope, we shall naturally have on our list, but as regards those in private hands or in local collections of the smaller type, we shall be very glad of information, if correspondents will kindly send it to one of us at the above address.

We are, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

Bruce Dickins.

The Times, 17 December, 1920.

BEWCASTLE CROSS.

University of Edinburgh, Dec. 15.

Sir,— May I plead for the powerful aid of *The Times* to secure reconsideration of a proposal to put out of existence a most interesting and unique ancient monument in the North? While the Bewcastle Cross is widely recognized as the most beautiful and interesting carved stone memorial of early date in England, it is not so generally known that high up on the Cumbrian moors, about 5 miles from the spot where this cross still stands, as it has stood for 1,200 years, there lies a companion stone cut from its bed, but never brought down to the plain. The material, the size and shape, and the fact that tombs were marked in Saxon times with two crosses, one at each end of the grave, all make it practically certain that the stone was intended to be a fellow of the existing Bewcastle Cross. As such, in its present position and surroundings, it is of quite exceptional value, which would, of course, entirely disappear were it removed. Will it be believed that a decision has been arrived at to drag this stone away from the site, where it has formed the goal of many pious antiquarian pilgrimage, and to set it up as a war memorial in a neighbouring Cumbrian town? The act, I venture to think, would be a heartless piece of vandalism, and public opinion – the arbiter in such matters – may fitly be invoked in protest.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Manchester Guardian, 26 January, 1921.

AN ANCIENT MONUMENT IN DANGER.

The University, Edinburgh, January 21.

Sir,— The “Manchester Guardian” has always been zealous in the cause of the preservation of the ancient monuments in which a good part of the history of our land is enshrined, and I hope you will allow me to plead for one that is now threatened with destruction.

On a North-east Cumbrian moor, not far from the well-known point of view and picnic place Christianbury Craig, there lies a roughly-squared stone shaft, about 16ft. long, cut away from its mother-bed by the hand of man, but never carted down to the lower ground. There are good reasons, which have already been given in print, for believing this stone to have been cut at a date not very far from 700 A.D. as a fellow-stone to the famous Bewcastle Cross, intended to stand at the foot of the royal grave of which the existing cross is the headstone. This gives the stone considerable value and interest, but these, it must be observed, depend entirely on its being left *in situ* where the old Northumbrians originally hewed it. It is nothing in itself, and derives all its importance from its immediate surroundings and its connection with the neighbouring Bewcastle masterpiece. Were it removed all this would be lost.

This unique monument, for there is nothing else like it in the whole country, has been fixed upon by the inhabitants of a Cumbrian town twelve or fifteen miles away (not, of course, Carlisle) as a suitable piece of raw material for a war memorial, and the owner or owners good-naturedly gave consent to its removal. It needs no demonstration that the best possible use to which any stone could be put is that of perpetuating the names of those who gave their lives for us in the war; but then any suitable piece of stone would serve for this, and considering the immensely strong objections to the removal of this stone from the common (to which it is supposed to have given its local name of Lang Bar) this particular piece surely becomes unsuitable. It may fairly be urged that it is no real honour to the gallant Cumbrian dead to do dishonour to the traditions of local piety and enlightened common sense which have flourished in that part of the country.

Objections to the proposal have been submitted to the War Memorial Committee, amongst others by the president of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and by the president and secretary of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society. These courteously-worded appeals have been committed to “the table,” a euphemism, we may conjecture, for the waste-paper basket. No Government authority concerned with ancient monuments has any legal status that would allow it to intervene, and the only appeal is to the public opinion first of the district and then of the North Country at large. Protests in the local journals have been met by spokesman of the town in question with arguments that have been shifted from one ground to another in the most extraordinary fashion. The latest and, I venture to think, weakest argument is that the townsman, though living within a walk of the site, cannot possibly see this confessedly very interesting monument unless it is brought down to where they can gaze on it without any trouble or healthy physical exercise. Such citizens, one would think, must be of a breed sadly degenerate from the sturdy Cumbrian stock. The interest that the stone excites in a sympathetic mind was expressed the other day by an American visitor, Professor Pope, of Harvard University, who has lately visited the site

and writes with enthusiasm of the “lonely spot on the Long Bar where this stone has lain undisturbed for so many centuries. In these surroundings,” he goes on, “the stone has a unique significance. Nothing could be more impressive to the lover of the past, or more stirring to the imagination, than this massive rock of enormous weight, the counterpart of which was transported by it is not now known what skilful means of early British workman to the spot where it now stands in its rare beauty and majesty in Bewcastle Churchyard,” and he appeals for the preservation of “this rough-quarried block in its original surroundings as an object of reverent pilgrimage.”

Now, it seems to me that a monument that in a very real sense belongs to the country, or even, as the above-quoted sentence show, to the thinking world at large, should not be at the mercy of mere good-nature and of the determination of a local committee to have its own way. Finance, it is understood, is at the bottom of the proposed scheme, and there is some prospect that inquiry will show that the cost of bringing down the stone would be prohibitive. If this prove to be the case, or if local public opinion, under the guidance of the chief officials of the Antiquarian Society, at last assert itself and the scheme be dropped, the best result would be for the owner or joint owners of the stone to put it under the care of the National Trust as trustees for the people at large. Were the late Canon Rawnsley still with us, and fighting as he would be fighting for preservation, this idea is one that he would warmly support; and as I myself, as I am given to understand, am a mere intruder, I may appeal to the Cumbrians who honour his memory, as well as the memory of Henry Whitehead, that staunch defender of our antiquities, who was actually vicar of Brampton, to consider the suggestion I here venture to offer.

Yours, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 10 September 1921.

PALAEOLITHIC ART

University of Edinburgh, September 9, 1921.

Sir,- Will you kindly allow me to say that, in the report of the paper I read yesterday in the Anthropological Section, the phrase in the third paragraph, "All the artistic activities of primitive man were preceded by similar activities in the artist," should read – "preceded by similar activities that are not artistic."?

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown

The Scotsman, 24 October, 1921.

ARCHITECTURE AND ELECTRIC WIRES.

University of Edinburgh, October 22, 1921.

Sir,— It is satisfactory to learn that in one at any rate of our main thoroughfare is the proprietors are organising resistance to the proposed complete electrocution of the handsome Edinburgh streets. There is no question that this new plan of transverse wires carried over the foot pavements and clamped in perpetuity to our houses add greatly to the objections which have all along being urged against the overhead wire installation, but I am only writing now in reference to a special proposal which, in itself apparently trifling, is really of far-reaching importance. The University has just been asked to allow the wire men to clamp two so-called “rosettes,” that are in miniature as tasteless in their pretentiousness as the Tower Bridge, on to the facade of the Old College for the attachment of those abominable transverse wires. Now I am not doing injustice to the able tramway manager when I say that he does not recognise, perhaps even does not know, the difference between the architecture of the Old University and that, say of Jenner’s, and would encourage his cast-iron warts to excresce as freely on the front of the Register House as on the North British Hotel; but the fact remains, ignore it who will, that Robert Adam’s facade is the masterpiece in the monumental style of one of the four or five greatest architects of the British race, and that the proposed violation of it will be regarded by every instructed person, outside the charmed or rather hypnotised Edinburgh circle, as an enormity. It has stood for a hundred years, and would stand hardly marred by time for another thousand, and its responsible guardians are now asked to flout its perennial dignity, and to treat it as anybody’s work, that anybody can cut about and plaster over at his will. We must remember that we have an obligation to the past and to the future, and in this light we must regard the supposed exigencies of the moment.

I say “supposed exigencies” because there is no real need to use a building in this situation. How are the wires to be supported on the North Bridge, on the Mound, or along Princes Street, for the citizens need no longer cherish the hope that Princes Street will be spared to them? Here, it is true, the authorities have the advantage of the Scott Monument and the R.S.A. building, and the pinnacles of the former, with the other’s Doric columns, afford ideal points of attachment, though nicks will have to be cut in the arrises of the fluted shafts to prevent the wires twisted round them from slipping down. It is providential that these two monuments are placed near some of the junctions – there must be nine or ten of them – which will be added beauties to what up to now has been called the finest street in Europe. For the rest of Princes Street, and for the West End junctions, where the maelstrom of wires will be the masterpiece of “up-to-date” tramwayism, they will have to fall back on posts, and these, frankly utilitarian and easily removable, can surely also be used in place of Adam’s Craighleith stonework.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Times, 24 October 1921.

ART AND ELECTRIC WIRES.

University of Edinburgh, Oct. 21.

Sir,— The prominence recently accorded in *The Times* to questions of civic amenity and the publication of the report of the Advisory Committee on Ancient Monuments embolden me to address you from here on a subject that has more than local interest. The Edinburgh Town Council decided some time ago to install a system of overhead wires for tramway traction in our streets. They are now arranging to substitute for the usual fastenings to posts, posts which could at any time be removed, attachments to what they are pleased to call “rosettes,” riveted onto the fronts of our buildings, thus spreading these unsightly wire entanglements across the foot pavements, and clamping them as it were, in permanence to the very body of the town. The proprietors of at least one important thoroughfare where this monstrous disfigurement is contemplated are organising resistance, but what I should like to be allowed to say is that the University Court is now asked to sanction the attachment of two “ornamental” rosettes (which, I need hardly say, are as pitifully tasteless as Tower Bridges in miniature) to the architectural masterpiece of Robert Adam, the facade to the Bridges of the Old University buildings. Very many of your readers know well the stately monument and its perfect Craighleith masonry, and will, I feel sure, resent, as many of us do here, the threatened outrage.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 4 January 1922.

UNIVERSITY BUILDINGS UNDER BLACKFORD HILL.

University of Edinburgh, January 3, 1922.

Sir,— Surely it is understood that what now appears on this site, ultimately to be graced by the new King's Buildings of the University, is a purely utilitarian erection, necessary for the carrying on of vitally important educational work, but not intended ultimately to be seen. Buildings of fine architectural character and of an imposing elevation have been designed, and, when funds avail, will be erected round the present factory-like laboratories, while other objectionable features of the present temporary installation will also be dealt with. It is most unfortunate that a sudden increase of demand in the educational resources of the University has not coincided with a proportionate addition to its capital, and even the present irreducible minimum of extension has not been easy to compass.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 7 March, 1922.

STREET DISFIGUREMENT.

University of Edinburgh, March 6, 1922.

Sir,— Surely the civic authorities have both the will and the power to prevent such a threatened monstrosity as the projecting illuminated advertisement above the door of a familiar place of entertainment in Nicholson Street. It will be as blatant and hideous as the most vulgar device that disfigures any Transatlantic township, and is going up in one of the chief thoroughfares of the city, just midway between Surgeons' Hall and the University. It is amazing that any business firm of respectability in Great Britain should ever have thought of a luminous horror of the kind.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 24 July 1922.

EDINBURGH CASTLE AS WAR MEMORIAL.

University of Edinburgh, July 22, 1922.

Sir,—Lord Rosebery invokes the august shade of Walter Scott in opposition to the proposal to create in Edinburgh Castle a shrine of the Scottish honour which would give the time-honoured rock and buildings a new place in the national heart. One feels, of course, great diffidence in opposing Lord Rosebery on any Scottish question, but for my part I can imagine no project which would appeal more nearly to the patriotic pride of Sir Walter's ghost, and to its sense of what, under present conditions, is fitting. If the Castle cease to have military significance, and if no serious purpose be found for it, it will be in danger of becoming vulgarised into a mere place of guides and tourists, whereas the project of elevating it into a Scottish National War Memorial gives it promise of new life and usefulness. The question of "tampering" with the Castle does not, I venture to think, come in. The Castle is not Charlotte Square, any alteration in which would be an artistic blunder. It contains an irregularly grouped collection of buildings, no one of which has marked aesthetic character, and a good architectural monument introduced in a suitable position would greatly improve it. As for the money, people are still at work on their own local memorials, and when the time for a great national appeal arrives the chances are, it seems to me, that it will meet with a wide and generous response.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Times, 15 August, 1922.

ART AND THE NATION.

Brasenose College, Oxford.

Sir,— The question of what universities can best do for the study and for the practice of art is exciting public attention, but there is some danger of the two being confused.

The study of art, in the sense of an intelligent appreciation of all that art has been and may still be for men, is quite a different thing from technical achievement with the pencil, the brush, or the mallet, and it is only in the case of architecture, carrying with it, as it should, sculpture and painting in their monumental forms, that academic training would have practical value.

The work of the architect is, in part, based on engineering and mathematical science, and in part on the bygone achievements and traditions of the craft, about all of which a university can give direct and adequate instruction, while in its higher forms it is a public performance, intimately associated with social, political, and religious life, and possesses in this way an intellectual standing.

For the decorative designer, on the other hand, or the sculptor and painter with modern ideals, a university as such can do little. As men, they might reap the full advantage of academic study, but that part of them that made them artists would hardly be touched by it. Reynolds and Constable would have made excellent university students, but Gainsborough and Turner hopelessly bad ones, while in neither case would their art have been affected. A university may, of course, if it choose, establish a practical school of art within its borders, but this is going beyond its special province.

On the other hand, a university, keeping strictly within its own proper range, may enable every intelligent and open-minded *alumnus* to know art and to understand it, and make it a part of his life, and it will do this best if it abandon any idea of opening life-classes for the *dilettante* undergraduate. Oxford, which her older lovers still dream of as a home of philosophy, the nurse of ideas, is exactly the place where such a study could most suitably be carried on.

There is no study, I venture to think, which has more breadth and is more illuminating. When we come to think of it, a large part of the history of the human race is written in monuments of art, and these have in each age embodied the spirit of that age and express its ideals, so that to understand the formative arts in their different phases and manifestations is to gain an insight into the whole spiritual development of humanity.

The study is educational, because, while its end and aim are humane and cultural, its method is strictly scientific, for evidence has to be collected and weighed before any conclusions are arrived at. Furthermore, it affords a special mental discipline in that the student has to deal not with words, but with things, with objects possessed of shape and colour, that have to be visualised till a clear mental image of them can be formed when they are absent.

A mind stored with such mental images has at its command a source of pure and disinterested delight that is one of the highest pleasures of which the human mind is capable, so that what the study secures is not only training, but a solid, enduring good that adds a fine element to life. This good a university can supply to all, while the few who have received the

divine gift of creative power in art should follow it single-heartedly where it leads, and not spend their time in class-rooms.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown

The Scotsman, 24 October, 1922.

THE PRINCES STREET TRAMWAY CHANGE.

University of Edinburgh, October 23, 1922.

Sir,—Will you allow an old opponent of the overhead system in Edinburgh, who finds his worst forebodings more than justified by the effect of the new system at the Register House, to join in the congratulations offered by Professor Hudson Beare on the efficient work of transformation? I was one of the crowd that cheered the erection of the first centre pole at the West End, precisely a quarter of an hour after midnight, and watched for a considerable time the continuance of the work down Princes Street, noting especially, what seemed to be a rather complicated business, the shifting of the lines near the East End, and I was greatly struck by the perfect quiet and order of the whole proceedings. There was no shouting, no fuss, no sense of bustle; every man seem to know his job and to fix on it all his attention, while the foreman glided quietly about and preserved the due accuracy and sequence in the operations. One would have said that the whole affair had been carefully rehearsed, though, of course, this was not possible.

May I add one other comment on an *obiter dictum* of my friend and colleague? Why call our electric light standards “ugly”? They happen to be the very best things of the kind in the whole country, and to represent a most promising experiment on the part of the Town Council of the day. This was before the time of the present Professor of Engineering, but, if I mistake not, they were designed under the superintendence of the late Sir Rowand Anderson, and were specially made, for reasons of aesthetic fitness, for use in the noble Edinburgh streets. It is easy to depreciate things or people who for the time being have served their turn, whether they be cable tramways or Mr Lloyd George, but to abuse our well-designed light standards is a discouragement to all who think that even in these days aesthetic considerations should be recognised in the conduct of local affairs.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 14 December 1922.

THE PROPOSED SCOTTISH WAR MEMORIAL.

University of Edinburgh, December 13, 1922.

Sir,— The promoters of the scheme for a Scottish National War Memorial located in the Castle were prepared from the first for criticism on the part of the public, and must have known that dissent would in some quarters be expressed. As one who has been from the first whole-hearted in general approval of the scheme, I may crave leave to put in a word with a view to modify the impression of the moderately worded but hostile criticism now offered.

With all possible respect for the views of my friend and colleague, Professor Lodge, and also of Mr Cadell, I must urge that the parallel drawn from Oxford does not really apply. The spire of St Mary's, in the High Street, and to a lesser degree that of All Saints, are recognised monuments of architectural beauty, the former an outstanding example of its style, and to put a new structure of the same type into competition with them was open to obvious objections. The case of the Castle is quite different. Here we have an irregular collection of buildings, picturesque in their ensemble but in no one case of intrinsic architectural value, and on that site any reasonable addition to or alteration of the masses and groupings is as likely to do good as harm. If the round turret that carries the flag had been a good feature instead of a gimcrack object I should feel differently, but as it is I should welcome any well-designed predominant architectural feature that will focuss the composition.

Mr Cadell pleads for the old buildings as they are, because we have all our lives been accustomed to them, but the argument rather ignores the recent history of the buildings on the rock. When it was proposed some years ago to build a new military hospital on its north-west corner, lively protests were made from influential quarters that read just like those which are coming in now, but the scheme was carried out, and what is the result? I say, without any hesitation, that the hospital is a very great improvement to the effect of the Castle, and as such it is an important object lesson at the present juncture.

I grant that the new building, now shown in model, bulks more largely than one anticipated, and accept the fact that both its mass and its architectural style may provoke reasonable comment, but I prefer to confine my remarks to the general aspects of the proposal which should be looked at fairly all round.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 14 December, 1922.

PROFESSOR BALDWIN BROWN ON CIVIC AESTHETICS.

Professor Baldwin Brown addressed a public meeting yesterday, under the auspices of the Western Branch of the Edinburgh Women Citizens' Association, in the Roseburn U.F. Church Hall – Lady Leslie Mackenzie presiding.

The lecturer explained that it was his intention to bring forward some consideration of an aesthetic kind to which those interested in civic affairs might give at any rate a portion of their attention.

In the conduct of these affairs there must be a certain give-and-take, and the preservation of beauty had its own importance side-by-side with aims of a more utilitarian kind. Some Continental towns offered encouraging object-lessons in that matter. The late M. Charles Buls was for many years Burgomaster of Brussels and carried that city forward in the paths of modern progress, but he was at the same time the leader of all those who valued the elements of beauty and of historic associations in civic life, and he fought for these with the same spirit and the same success which marked his efforts for the extension of tramways. Eighteen months ago the *Times* devoted columns day after day to a movement started in artistic circles in London to secure what was termed "art in common life," and by well chosen advisory councils to help civic authorities to form sound judgements on matters involving the beauty and amenity of the streets.

It so happened that some years ago a proposal to form an advisory committee of the kind had been brought before the Town Council of Edinburgh by one of its prominent members, and it was possible that some project of the kind might even now materialise. One principle must at all hazard be maintained, that a care for the element of beauty in human life and its surroundings was not an affair of one class only, but of all classes in the community, and this principle was enforced in the lecture by quotations on the one side from the late Professor Flint and on the other from the Labour leader Mr Bevan, who some time ago had put in a striking plea for the right of the London docker to share in this gift of beauty which should be open to all alike. Some comments followed on the features of beauty with which Edinburgh, quite apart from Princes Street, had been so largely endowed both by Nature and by art.

A historical retrospect showed features of encouragement, as well as of warning, while as regards the future, from the point of view of civic aesthetics, a great amount of what the city had lost and was still losing would be more than made up if the noble proposal of terracing out a portion of the South side of Princes Street opposite the Castle came ultimately to its own. This great and perfectly feasible improvement which then allowed the citizens to enjoy in peace, and in the evening hours when the effect was often at its best, the finest urban view in the world.

The Scotsman, 23 December 1922.

THE CASTLE FROM PRINCES STREET.

University of Edinburgh, December 22, 1922.

Sir,— The question under discussion assumes a new aspect now that Mr Fraser Dobie has again brought forward his scheme for the terracing of part of the south side of Princes Street. If the scheme materialise, one looks forward to a fresh source of enjoyment owing to the new elements of beauty and interest that the War Memorial will add to the buildings on the Rock. If the Castle become, as I devoutly hope it will, a shrine of the sacred memories that carry us back to the Great War, the romance of its old buildings will be greatly enhanced. Their more ancient associations will furnish a background to those newer, more intimate emotions that gather round the greatest national achievement of the Scottish people since Bannockburn. These feelings we shall be able to indulge in the quiet surroundings which we hope will in a little time be provided. I have spoken of new elements also of beauty, and a memorial shrine designed with a special view to its location on the highest point of the Castle Rock will be, as I wrote before, a “reasonable” addition, though Principal Laurie did not trouble to note the adjective before he penned his first letter.

We must remember that the scheme as explained and illustrated by the architect was accepted by the Committee specially appointed in 1919, and when one notes that the second name of the signatories to the favourable report then drawn up was that of Lord Carmichael, and the last but one that of the late David Erskine of Linlathen, it is clear that aesthetic judgement of the very best was brought to bear on it. To judge from the model, I have no hesitation in saying that from Charlotte Street, where it first comes into view, along to beyond Frederick Street, the shrine would be a distinct improvement to the composition of the various structures on this side of the Rock. Beyond that from the ascent up the Mound, and from the east and south-east generally, the complete elimination of the eastern part of Billings’s block may to many eyes seem to involve an unpleasing bareness of effect, but it was distinctly laid down in the Committee’s report that “the proposals in regard to new buildings may be subject to modification in form, scale, and detail.” Judging from a model of the kind now exposed is not always fair to a designer, and this brings one again to the terrace scheme for Princes Street.

When a model of a section of this was set up some years ago in the Gardens people were frightened at it, as it looked so gaunt and rigid, just as they are frightened now at the untidy erections on the Rock, but a terrace, with its balustrades, seats, stairways, &c., designed as this must be by a first-rate architect, would look very different from such a model. So far from “encroaching on the Gardens,” which would naturally be deprecated, the terrace will add to the Gardens by bringing into effective use the space of the steep slope now used only for transit, and will not seriously interfere with the trees. A Sub-Committee of the Cockburn Association Council went into this question, and received from the highest authority a very satisfactory assurance. They were of the opinion that, unless for other reasons the pavement need widening all the way along, the terrace should only extend from half-way between Hanover and Frederick streets to half-way between Castle and Charlotte Streets, while it might be thrown out in bastions opposite the ends of Frederick and Castle Streets, affording two excellent sites for fine groups of statuary, though there would, of course, be no space for a big building like a memorial shrine. Here, one would think, is work

for the unemployed in regard to which the city would receive the most ample return for the expenditure involved.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 5 May, 1923.

THE ROYAL INSTITUTION BUILDING IN PRINCES STREET.

University of Edinburgh, May 4, 1923.

Sir,— The question of this building in connection with Princes Street traffic was again noticed at the last meeting of the Town Council, and many suggestions have previously been made for the obviation of the inconvenience caused by the narrowing at this point of the thoroughfare. It is impossible without grave injury to its architectural effect to cut and carve a classical building, the merit of which is its completeness and the studied relations of proportion among its various parts. We can add Thistle Chapels onto St Giles' and the mediaeval structure is not injured but improved, but one cannot with impunity alter the fabric of one of our classical monuments which are the pride of the city. In the case of a Greek temple structure the steps up to its platform are as important as its cornice.

There is a way, however, as has been pointed out before, in which, though a somewhat drastic process, the inconvenience could be obviated, and at the same time and architectural improvement effected at about the most conspicuous point in the whole city. On each side of the opening to Hanover Street the three buildings in Princes Street nearest on the east and west have no architectural value, though as business premises they are naturally of considerable importance. It would be possible, though, of course, an expensive improvement to take down these three houses on each side, and rebuild them in the form of a crescent, which would widen the thoroughfare in front of the Royal Institution, and at the same time supply an excellent island site in the middle of the chord of the arc of the crescent, where, an Edinburgh war memorial might find a suitable position.

The buildings to be newly erected should be an ornament to the town, while their business value would be so great that I should imagine the cost of improvement would from this source before long be covered. The really serious difficulty involved would be, no doubt, the temporary dislocation of the businesses at present carried on on the site, but on this matter I cannot pretend to have expert knowledge. I certainly think, however, that it is a scheme that should be seriously considered, in the interests alike of the convenience of traffic and of the finest classical building the preservation of which in its integrity would be secured.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 28 January, 1924.

SCOTTISH WAR MEMORIALS.

University of Edinburgh, January 25, 1924.

Sir,— A proposal has recently been mooted for a fresh war Memorial in Edinburgh in the form of a Cenotaph, and we read in this morning's *Scotsman* of a kindly wish from overseas to provide us with yet another, consisting, "probably," in the figure of a Highlander, to be erected in Princes Street. Now, I am sure that all Edinburgh citizens are at one in welcoming with the utmost cordiality any expression from the United States or from the Colonies of the goodwill borne by the Scot abroad towards his home-keeping kinsfolk. During the war, when Colonial troops were here on leave it was an expressive testimony to the solidarity of the race to note the intense interest taken by young soldiers from Britain beyond the seas in the city that their parents and grandparents had known and loved, and the present proposal is another proof of this generous feeling. One cannot, however, help hoping that the sentiment will materialise in a better form than the threatened Highlander. There are other schemes in which a memorial intention could be expressed.

We must not lose sight of the fact that a specific memorial of the part Scotland played in the war is actually in process of erection at the Castle, and the national and patriotic scheme it represents could, as everyone knows, be suitably extended if additional funds were made available. Let us cherish the confident expectation that this war memorial will turn out a very beautiful and expressive work of art, not only in its general design but in the decorative accessories which Scottish artists are so well able to supply, and that it will furnish just that focusing point for our thoughts and memories about the war which is afforded by the London Cenotaph – a unique monument, which I venture to think it would be false taste to imitate. The National Scottish War Memorial carries out the general idea of the Cenotaph, though it will be of wider significance, and it will be visible, though not in any way obtrusively, from Princes Street. If the admirable project for terracing the south side of Princes Street be carried out, we shall be given a place where both the citizens and the Scottish visitor from abroad can sit in quiet and realise the significance of the memorial that will crown are magnificent Acropolis. Surely it will be well to concentrate on the one great monument and not to dissipate our own and our distant kinsfolk's resources on competing schemes.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 2 February, 1925.

THE PROPOSED NEW COWGATE BRIDGE.

The University, Edinburgh, January 31, 1925.

Sir,— May I ask for the space of a few lines to emphasise the very great importance of this proposal, which in itself, and as possible precedent, seems one of the most serious that we have had before us in our time. The application for leave to over-arch the Cowgate was accompanied by a rather unfortunate business suggestion, as if there were people who thought that the general interests of the city might be bartered away from paltry solatium. This, of course, is absurd, and the authorities will regard the matter wholeheartedly in its broad civic aspects.

The citizens of Edinburgh have an intense love of their town, not primarily for her modern streets and excellent shops, but for the indefinable charm with which nature and art combined have invested her, and which is made so appealing through the glamour of history and romance. This charm is exercised specially by the bold features of the site, with its oppositions of ridge and valley, and by the older buildings, which, clinging alike to heights and to hollows, make a unity of the whole. What many of us like to feel, when we walk the new streets, is that the picturesque old features behind and below these are as much our own present possession as the shops and the tramways, and this we chiefly realise when we enjoy such characteristic glimpses as are afforded by the view west and east from the South and George IV Bridges. The citizens are surely not prepared for themselves and for their visitors, to exchange one of these pleasant views for a display of soft goods however attractive and excellent these may be in their proper places.

The question is not only one of amenity, but of civics. It is the most cogent objection to the proposal that it would emphasise still further that separation of the town into an upper and a lower which resulted from the construction of the lines of the Bridges. In the form in which these schemes were carried out, they secured excellent business premises on the higher levels, but ignored and indeed thrust down, the valley regions, whose inhabitants were, and are, just as much citizens of Edinburgh as the lords of commerce and trade enthroned above. It was perhaps good business, but it was bad civics to accentuate this separation, and any new proposal to cut off the Cowgate still more effectively than at present is totally opposed to all the enlightened views of the day as to town planning and arrangement.

If this proposal were agreed to, we might soon see it used as a precedent for drawing other architectural screens between us and the bits of romantic urban scenery in which we are now able to take delight, and, what is far worse, between one social section of the population and another. In spite of all disadvantages, the Cowgate and the other older parts of the city have improved very markedly within the last generation, and all praise to them for it. Do not let us reward them by blocking them out of view from ourselves and from visitors, who come to see the Cowgate with perhaps as much interest as Princes Street.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Times, 24 April, 1925.

RESTORATION OF THE PARTHENON.

Savile Club.

Sir,— The general problems suggested by the “restoration” of the Parthenon is in Mr. Theodore Fyfe’s phrase, a very difficult one, and involves the question of two quite different operations – one, the replacing of lost or mutilated architectural details; the other the reproduction of decorative work of great intrinsic beauty, such as the Parthenon sculptures and those on the Cathedral at Reims. In the case of the latter building there is no real objection to restoring the vault and other purely architectural portions, though the project, favoured in some influential quarters, of making new statues to replace lost masterpieces, such as the “Foi” of the South transept and the Christ of the North, is one to be most strongly deprecated. So in the case of the Parthenon fallen columns may be rebuilt, and even the more elaborate work of reconstructing portions of the marble roof of the peristyle is well within the capacity of the modern Greek marble worker; but fifth century decorative sculpture is not a matter only of good material and exact measurement, but of expressive quality in surface and detail that the worker of to-day cannot hope to emulate. If we sent back to Athens the Elgin marbles, one doubts whether the authorities there would really hoist them up 50ft. into the air, and would not rather find good reasons for keeping them in the Acropolis Museum, and one doubts too if exact reproductions of the sculpture in permanent material be feasible.

We must, however, remember that the West freeze is still *in situ* on the building, together with two of the original figures of the Western pediment, and this gives so much of interest to the Western end as a whole that I would venture to take a different view from that expressed by Mr. Fyfe, and to suggest that it is just here that reconstruction would be most in place. If the portico roof were rebuilt – some of the marble beams of it are still in their place – we should see in its proper lighting a whole substantial section of the original frieze, without the need of sending any slabs back from the British Museum. In the other parts of the building architectural but not sculptural reproduction is all that should be aimed at.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Times, 13 January, 1926.

MOUNTING OF GREEK PLAYS.

The University, Edinburgh, Jan. 11.

Sir,— In common, one was glad to see, with a large number of adherents of the Greek Play Society, I was present at the initial performance by the society of a Greek play by masked actors in fanciful festal attire, mounted (somewhat unsteadily) on *cothurni*. One was struck by the fact that, even from a distance so short as that between the front of the dress circle and the stage, the presence of the masks did not seem to make any difference. The absence of facial expression seemed indeed rather an advantage, as enabling the spectator to concentrate his mind more thoroughly on the main interest of the situations, and the clearness of the intonation, a merit common to all the performers, did not seem at all affected by the mask. It certainly did seem, however, as if the fixity of the features was unduly carried through so as to affect the vocal intonation and the gestures. These seem to be kept needlessly monotonous, whereas more expression in the voice and more movement might have enhanced the tragic effect. If criticism of this kind be offered, it is only because we are dealing with a new departure, and all concerned will be looking forward to even better results in the future.

But why, oh! why, in the names of Greek literature, archaeology, and above all, common sense, is there preserved that hopelessly antiquated Bradfield arrangement of sundering actors and chorus, as in the old pre-Dorpfeld days? That chorus and actors cannot be absolutely sundered, if the older Greek plays are to be performed, is confessed by the fact that on Sunday, as at Bradfield, the device was adopted of a frontal flight of steps connecting orchestra and stage, a device for which there is no ancient authority of any kind. At Bradfield, Agamemnon on his triumphant return from Troy, used to make his appearance most absurdly out of a side door of his own palace, and on Sunday, Creon, who has been discerned in the distance, suddenly comes out of the Royal Palace, while the messenger from Corinth issues out of the same mansion and immediately asked to be kindly directed to it! Oedipus, driven forth into exile, the culmination of the action of the play, turns his back on the vast unseen world in which he is to be a wanderer, and goes again into his own snug domicile. It stands to reason that Agamemnon made his entry, with a train that can have been of great magnificence, by the *parados* into the orchestra, and from the farthest space of this he would make that progress to his house on the purple rugs, which must have provided one of the most thrilling episodes in all tragedy. So, too, at the end of the play of Sophocles, Oedipus would feel his way forth to the country across the orchestra, and the play, as in Reinhart's setting, would come to its fitting tragic end.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Times, 18 September, 1926.

ENGINEERING AND ART.

The Athenaeum, Sept. 16.

Sir,— It was probably inevitable that witnesses from the engineering side of the cross-river traffic problem should tilt at some imaginary section of the public which “thinks that nothing modern, however beautiful, can equal something that is old.” Intelligent people are not biased in this silly fashion, but they are at the same time painfully aware that the tradition of style in engineering work has in these days practically died out. It was established by the Romans, and their Pont du Gard near Nimes remains the classic example of a purely utilitarian fabric, entirely unornamented, but at the same time treated with the justest taste by a deliberate handling of the constructive forms with aesthetic intent, in ways which it would take too much space to explain in detail.

This tradition lasted on to the days of Rennie and Telford, but more recent engineering structures, like the Forth and Tay Bridges, seemed to show that it has been lost. If we compare the noble design of Telford’s stone piers supporting parts of the roadway of the Menai Suspension Bridge with the miserable poverty of the skimpy stone and iron viaduct connecting the banks of the Forth with the shore ends of those magnificent girders, we shall realise why the modern engineering expert is not entirely trusted. It is not because he is modern, but because he has lost the old tradition of style, and it is significant that a remedy is sometimes suggested in the addition of an architect as his coadjutor, so that a pleasing element of “art” may be added to his monuments. The idea is quite a wrong one, and the outcome of muddled thinking. If a new bridge is to be an engineering work its external appearance must express its purpose and, if possible, its material in clear and simple forms. With the Romans, as with moderns like Rennie and Telford, these forms would be noble forms finely grouped and proportioned, while quite independent of art in applied ornament. As the witness above quoted remark, “it would be very sad” if modern designers could not (in the chairman’s words) “be relied on to produce a work of art which would be the equivalent of Waterloo Bridge,” but this, I fear, is just one of the sad features of our time.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Times, 2 October, 1926.

USES OF ORNAMENT.

Edinburgh University, Sept. 29.

Sir,— Were it not that in Westminster and Liverpool, and at many other places at home and abroad, we have watched great building in the traditional materials and forms, we might be inclined to scrap our text-books of architectural styles in view of the new materials and new conditions which so largely govern the architecture of to-day. For when the now almost ubiquitous ferro-concrete is the architect's instrument of expression, it is useless for him to ask himself in what style shall he build, for a ferro-concrete Romanesque or a ferro-concrete Doric would be a very artificial production. It is here not a question of styles, but of style. That buildings in the new material can possess style and also woefully lack it we can see from many points of view, such as the south of Kingsway and London Bridge, and the problem of the day is to win to true architectural expression in a material that is not very flexible but possesses at any rate its own marked character of squareness and compact mass. Style in the formative arts results when a true artist has taken his theme into his mind as a whole and projected into it his own inspired but sober individuality till this unifying influence pervades it in every part. As he realises the character and purpose of what is prefigured in this way in his mind his general design will express destination and use, and the cubical masses will assume a general grouping that carries the purpose home to the mind of every intelligent spectator.

This is, however, not enough. It is a complete error to imagine that a designer has only to carry out a programme and the resultant external forms will take care of themselves. John Constable said: "After all there is such a thing as the art," and the architectural art largely depends on the power, with which Sir Christopher Wren was so splendidly endowed, of balancing mass against mass and detail against plain mass in fine and satisfying proportions. The material and its structural forms lend themselves readily enough to those all-important effects of general shape and of the disposition of parts, but neither the material itself nor the forms it necessarily assumes suggests ornament, as this is suggested, say, by the constructive forms of Gothic. Any building of pretension, however, framed for the use of man, affords a suitable field for the decorative treatment of the human figure, and as for other ornament, if Gothic freely offered a place for this it did not prescribe its special form, that of foliage, and this is just a touch of poetry gracefully added in the traditional festal spirit of which Semper made so much. There is no reason why ferro-concrete buildings should be too austere to wreath themselves in such ornament, only it must, like all the rest, be a portion of a unity conceived as such in the artist's mind in all its parts and details. There is a new City building that in spite of its magnificent mass, fails because the treatment of the important corners is so poor, and because the ornament, which should be all the more carefully considered the less there is of it, is intrinsically unlovely.

If all have been thought out, and the genius and care of the artist be all-pervading, then the structure will have that quality of style in which we must confess much of our work of to-day is so deficient, and we shall not need to go back to the traditional forms of our text-books.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 6 October 1926.

MONUMENTS IN PRINCES STREET GARDENS.

The University, Edinburgh, October 5, 1926.

Sir,— The English Fine Arts Commission, in its recent report, issued a warning against multiplying statues in the London parks, though these are of large area, and, except the ornamental waters, had no marked natural features. Were this Commission, or were any similar Commission that may materialise for Scotland, advising for Edinburgh, it would almost certainly deprecate placing any monuments at all in the restricted spaces of West Princes Street Gardens, which are essentially a beautiful natural setting for the incomparable Castle Rock, and should be preserved as such intact. The terracing out of the southern side of Princes Street, so as to take in part of the space occupied by the present sloping bank would improve the Gardens by giving to the public a quiet and uninterrupted view over them to the Castle at all times in day or evening, and one incidental advantage of this great city improvement would be that the vertical front of the new terrace towards the gardens would afford excellent situations for the display of sculpture. This applies to the question, a most important and pressing one, of the placing of the American War Memorial, now to be seen and estimated in model. If this is to be in the Gardens, its original position, let into the bank above the present terrace walk, is surely much better and more suitable than the new position now, let us hope only provisionally, assigned to it. Set back in this bank a little above the level of the walk it could readily be worked into the scheme of the great terrace whenever this comes into being, and this consideration is strongly in favour of the original site. Where it is now prospectively located it would have the disastrous effect of itself occupying a big space of the Gardens proper, and, what is still worse, of furnishing a precedent which would be eagerly exploited by all the memorial or statue committees in this part of Scotland, till the Gardens came to be almost wholly ruined for their present noble and perfectly effected purpose.

Furthermore, the American War Memorial itself, that has great and obvious merits, is, I venture to think, much better in its simpler, more restrained form than in the present proposed modification, where it is expanded somewhat loosely as if to take up as much ground as possible, and has been prolonged at the two ends by flights of steps leading in from the bank that are surely a mistake. One does not approach a monument of the kind by little tortuous pathways round the corner. It should be approached where the effect of it can be seen and judged as a whole. It cannot be too late to reconsider this question of placing that may imperil the future of the Gardens. These, as embosoming the Castle Rock, are recognised by all who come to our town as a unique and most precious possession. Our visitors, and we also want our eyes led to the Castle, and not checked and diverted by modern monuments all over the Garden spaces, which would be the result of “utilising” what a sense of good taste and suitability bids us leave alone in its present quiet and beauty.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 2 March 1927.

SOUTH SIDE TERRACING.

The University, Edinburgh, February 28, 1927.

Sir,— I am glad that Sir Patrick Ford has returned to the question so often mooted of terracing out that portion of Princes Street which fronts the Castle Rock, so as to provide a place where in it may be possible, especially at eventide, to sit in comfort and to enjoy to the full what is without doubt the finest purely urban view in the world.

The Cockburn Association, that is sometimes unfairly credited with a policy of mere negotiations, took the matter up some years ago on the initiative of the late Dr Marshall, of the High School, and a small committee considered it, one of its members being the Professor of Forestry. The result, especially in the important matter of the preservation of the trees, was very satisfactory, but it was thought that the terrace need not extend beyond the middle of the block between Hanover and Frederick Streets and the middle of that between Castle and Charlotte Streets, while opposite the ends of Frederick and Castle Streets it might be thrown out in bastion-like projections, which would give the opportunity for architectural design, and would provide in the centre of each a noble site for a statue facing the light. The project, lately revived, of commemorative monuments to Wallace and to Bruce comes in here. It is true that some people are disposed to groan a little when they contemplate new monuments of the kind, but the fact remains that Wallace and Bruce are national heroes of whom any country might well be proud, and there is no sculptor who ever lived that would not be honoured by the task of giving expression to the fire of one and the constancy and judgement of the other.

I do not touch on the question dealt with by Sir Patrick of the use of the central portion of the proposed terrace, for I am one of those who think that with the great and comprehensive National War Memorial on the Castle Rock a Cenotaph is not really needed, but in any case, as he has pointed out, fitting positions for sculpture in various forms can be provided in the design. The fact must be accepted, however, from the first, that such a design is a matter that calls for the very highest architectural skill available. To design in fine style a composition of terraces and bastions, with stairways and pedestals and seats and balustrades, is not anybody's work, but a very high task indeed, and if, as one may now hope, the scheme may before long materialise, we must look for a reincarnated Alfred Stevens to mould it for us to a form worthy of its magnificent position and surroundings.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 8 March, 1927.

PRINCES STREET – SOUTH SIDE TERRACING.

The University, Edinburgh, March 7, 1927.

Sir,— The Lyon King has intervened on this controverted subject in a rather drastic fashion. In the case of any proposed public work of the kind there are generally arguments on both sides, and it is possible to put these without either side indulging in what can be termed “fuss.”

Lyon’s first argument against the project is that it is not needed for we can see all we want to see of the Castle from the Broad Walk. Both personally and in virtue of his office the writer of to-day’s letter is in touch with civic aesthetics, and I feel sure that if he looks back on his impressions of the view of the Old Town and the Castle, he will remember that he has been struck, as the present writer has been a thousand times, by the fact that it is in the gloaming and after nightfall that these unique features of the Edinburgh urban landscape come out in their full aesthetic value. I have again and again, after closing hours, when the Castle on its rock was looming out with peculiar grandeur, tried to contemplate it from the present south pavement, but with the tall iron railings, the constricted space, and all the business of the cab rank, this is really impossible, and I have longed for such an arrangement as that under discussion. The answer to this first argument is that the terraces would enable the view to be seen when it looks at its best, but when the Gardens are inaccessible. The terrace would really to a very substantial extent enlarge the Gardens instead of contracting them as some seem to fear, for it would make the most important strip of them, that which commands the fullest view of the Castle, available at all hours. There is less need to urge this point – the really essential one – because it has been enforced this very morning in a charmingly expressed communication to the *Dispatch*, in which the writer speaks with an aesthetic appreciation of the beauty of Edinburgh by night, which reminds one of a famous passage in Whistler’s “ten o’clock” about Thames shore at eventide. One would like to quote a sentence if space can be allowed: –

“On the far reaches of the wide sky,” so ends the communication, “the darker curtains of night begin to unfold... And you know that at the end of any weary day, when the cares and sorrows of the earthly realities lie heavy upon you, there is an hour at twilight when romance can cast its spell, can build your castle on the rock, your towers and spires, your house-tops against the sky, and all your familiar landmarks, into the city of a poet’s vision.” What we terracites desire is to bring such experiences within the reach of all those who as citizens of Edinburgh inherit a sense of poetry and of beauty.

On the question of the effect of the work on the trees, I have already mentioned that the small committee I referred to in my first letter included the Professor of Forestry, and though of course, I do not dream of binding him down to any definite statement, it was the result of our inspection of the site that the shortened terrace we proposed would leave the best trees, which are near the Mound and St John’s Church, untouched, and the rest of the arboreal problem would present no more real difficulty than the bandstand.

When one comes to the last paragraph of Lyon’s letter one cannot but think it hastily indited. “A low stone parapet” – has the writer forgotten that is the other side of this would be a sheer drop of a good many feet? Again, who ever in his senses imagined that free access to the gardens would be allowed after nightfall? I grant that if the stairways, &c., were

carried out in stone, and then subsequently as an afterthought closed with some arrangement of iron gates, the result might be very unfortunate; but when I spoke of the need for high artistic qualities in the designer I meant a designer who would consider his necessary barriers from the first as part of his scheme, and work them into it as Alfred Stevens would have done. It needs hardly to be said that wrought iron artistically treated may be a very beautiful thing indeed. When I wrote of a new Alfred Stevens I had in mind George Kemp, a youthful artist of genius brought out by the competition for the Scott Monument; but I am far from thinking that amongst our known and respected artists there are not some who would produce a quiet, effective, well-considered composition that would look well from the south, and give the architectural character that is now lacking to the view of Princes Street from the Castle.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 10 March, 1927.

THE BUILT-UP RECESS IN THE GHIZA TOMB.

March 9, 1927.

Sir,— May I have space for a non-controversial word? Last year a visitor, who was kindly admitted to the mysterious tomb chamber towards which so many eyes are now turned, was struck by the appearance of a recess in the western wall roughly built-up with irregularly shaped stones laid with the abundance of what would be popularly termed “mortar.” One of the masons had hastily drawn his hand over this to spread it flatly over the stones between which it was oozing, and the marks of his fingers were quite plain and apparently fresh. The visitor turned to Mr Dunham with the inquiry, “why did you build up that recess?” and was answered, “It was closed five thousand years ago, and no one can tell what lies within it.”

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 21 July, 1927.

THE COMPLETION OF THE WAR MEMORIAL.

The University, Edinburgh, July 20, 1927.

Sir,— The successful completion of the War Memorial is an achievement of which any country might be proud, and for a long time to come, from Edinburgh and from Scotland at large, pilgrims to the shrine of the national valour and sacrifice will be reading their the message to which the arts have found a language as appropriate as it is beautiful. It was a fitting end to all the mulitform [sic] activities with [sic] co-operated in the task when last night those engaged upon it met together to compare notes and all they had been doing. It was a proof that there still exists that solidarity of the arts which was such a feature of mediæval days. A public building, the shrine it may be, like St Giles', of a national religion, or, like the Memorial, of a national life that has risen above its normal secular activities to the expression of an ideal striving, nurtures the consciousness of community, and into buildings of the kind William Morris read a meaning that he expressed once here in Edinburgh in words which seems so appropriate that space may perhaps be found for them.

"Some noble and splendid public edifice," he imagines, "built to last for ages, and duly ornamented so as to express the life and aspirations of the citizens; in itself a great piece of history embodying their efforts to raise a house worthy of noble lives," and as he might have said of deaths as noble; "its decoration an epic wrought for the good not of the present generation only, but of many generations to come. This is," Morris affirms, "the complete artistic work, the true unit of the formative arts, built and ornamented by the harmonious efforts of a free people; by no possibility could one man do it, however gifted he might be... and something of his genius there must be in the other members of the great body of that raises the complete work; millions on millions of strokes of hammer and chisel, of the gouge, of the brush, of the shuttle, are embodied in that work of art, and in every one of them there is either intelligence to help the master, or stupidity to foil him... so that no one from the master designer downwards could say this is *my work*, but everyone could say truly this is *our work*. Is this," Morris concludes, "the mere dream of an idealist? No; not at all; such works were once produced, in some such way have the famous buildings of the world been raised." The somewhat pessimistic note in which the eloquent address concluded might now, one thinks, be changed for one of satisfaction and hope.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Times, 28 September, 1927.

ST. BENEDICT'S, LINCOLN.

The University, Edinburgh, Sept.20.

Sir,— In common with all interested in our ancient monuments, I have noted with natural concern the threatened destruction of St. Benedict's, Lincoln, and have not seen any reference to the value the tower possesses as an early architectural document. It is true that the traces of Saxon work are in themselves slight, but if, in the interest of cinemas or greyhound racing, we destroy bits of Saxon stonework all over the country because they are such little ones, we shall be tearing out some interesting pages from our early architectural history. St. Benedict has been recently claimed by a high authority on Lincolnshire antiquities as one of the two historical Colsuain churches about which so much has been written. Whether or not this can be maintained, the building has a special value in common with Harpswell that is an instance of the Saxo-Norman architectural "overlap," seeing that the belfry openings are Saxon, while the proportions of the tower give it a distinctly Norman aspect. The destruction of the building would cancel an interesting bit of evidence for the architectural history of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. This argument for preservation may carry weight with some in whose hands the decision lies.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Times, 29 November 1927.

THE NEW COINS.

The University, Edinburgh.

Sir,— The last paragraph of Mr Spielmann's letter in your issue of November 18 begins "There is, of course, nothing more to be said," but I venture to think that a good deal more might be usefully said and that it is unsatisfactory to express general disapproval of the latest official effort in numismatic art unless we have in view something better for the future.

Now, I feel confident that there is plenty of artistic talent in the country capable, if properly directed, of bringing about that revival of dignity and style in our coinage which we welcome, say, in much of our architecture. It is only a surmise, but I should think that the capable artist or artists set to design these types have been so constrained from the official side to "get in" a variety of motives primary or secondary that their creative impulse has been paralysed. It is, of course, an important truth to be kept in mind that every form of art has its own conventions which must be duly observed, and there are in this case conventions heraldic and other that no numismatic designer can contravene. Some proper instruction and study would afford the needful guidance to any artist who has in him the root of the matter — a natural gift for design. The late Reginald Stuart Poole, when head of this Department at the British Museum, was much interested in a medallist society that I think he founded, and such a society might work out and establish the canons of treatment suitable for the medallist's art. The observance of such canons is quite compatible with originality and vigour in design. If I may refer to an example of to-day, the Scottish War Memorial is a lesson in the art of "getting in" all sorts of motives and suggestions, but the need of conforming to a multiplicity of conditions has not deadened the inspiration of the various artists who have collaborated in the extensive undertaking. Mere realism is avoided; it is not a mere collection of details, but is a whole, dominated by the impression of style. Would it not be possible in the future to secure the right sort of artistic talent to create designs for the details of the material apparatus of our daily life, such as our coins and postage stamps? The talent exists and only needs encouragement and proper direction. Look what good work is often done now in designing posters, though none may match Fred Walker's "Woman in White." Do not let us despair even of our coins.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 12 January 1928.

THE WALLACE AND BRUCE STATUES.

The University, Edinburgh, January 11, 1928.

Sir,— So far as one can see at present, Edinburgh and its Town Council are to be congratulated on the way things have gone in a matter that might have involved considerable difficulties, adumbrated in some letters in *The Scotsman* of this morning. The choice of the situation for the statues reflects the greatest credit on those responsible for it. The position for the statues is one of high honour, and they will hold it through later Scottish history as sentinels on guard over what will always remain the great national shrine. It is a position, too, of quiet dignity, without any element of the flamboyant with which we might have been threatened. Equally pleasing is the result so far of the competition, for it has brought out in Mr Carrick's "Wallace," if one may judge from the published sketch, a work of style and distinction, with about it that touch of genius which is so unmistakable but so hard to define. One is glad that Sir Herbert Maxwell characterises the design as "fine," though he subjects it to some archaeological criticism. This opens up an aesthetic question of some importance, on which a few remarks may be in place.

There are, unfortunately, signs only too apparent that neither on the part of the public nor, it seems, on that of those in authority, is there a clear apprehension of the essential difference between sculpture as part of an architectural composition, and sculpture in the form of the independent statue out of all relations of the kind. In the latter the "truth to nature" and realism in details, which are the only quality recognised by many people in works of art, are quite in place, but in sculpture of the former kind other considerations of vital moment come in. The sculptured figure or relief is here part of a larger whole and is bound to be treated in relation to the architectural setting, and to the other elements that form parts of the general design. Such treatment involves a certain amount of convention, and a studied severity corresponding to the necessarily severe lines of the architecture, and excludes a good deal of that mere naturalism so pleasing in the independent work. In the case of two figures forming as is the case here the wings of a simple architectural composition, the laws of style demand that they should be treated both in idea and in composition as complementary, as two integral parts of a single whole, not as two single things, each independent and "on its own." It is unfortunate that this essential condition for the highest artistic success was ignored by the choice of two sculptors for the two figures, which should in a sense have been treated as one. Every sculptor worthy of the name would so deal with the task of this kind. It must be recognised, of course, that committees have often to deal with extraneous conditions of various kinds which often almost force them to compromises, so that the rigour of aesthetic principles becomes relaxed. None the less important is it to make every effort to preserve them intact.

The convention of Wallace's sword, which has been criticised is quite in place. The sword is here a symbol, not an effort at prosaic historical verity, and it is to be hoped that Mr Carrick will preserve it as it exactly accords with the architectural style of his sculpture.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Times, 25 July 1928.

ROBERT ADAM. WORK IN EDINBURGH.

Sir.— The interesting notice of Robert Adam in your issue of July 18 suggests one comment, which I may perhaps be allowed to voice. I have often noticed that writers who speak mainly from their experiences of English work connected with the master's name regard Adam as primarily an ornamental list. Mr. Arthur Bolton, it is true, is an exception, but most southern critics think of Adam ceilings and mantelpieces rather than of Adam architectural masses or balanced compositions.

No one in Scotland dwells on Adam details, and the reason partly is that, whereas in the south he was often condemned to do his best with brick and stucco, he was able at any rate here in Edinburgh to express himself in what is about the finest building stone ever used – Craigleith sandstone; and he shows himself here at once a master of the monumental style. In planning the Charlotte square houses Robert Adam did not trouble himself about their ceilings. Indeed, as your Architectural Correspondent rightly notes, he rather ignored the domesticities, and merged the effect of the separate houses into four grand compositions of the four blocks. Aesthetically this is wholly to be justified, for he was dealing with a public monument destined to bring honour to the city at large, not merely with a set of private houses. How well he has succeeded those truly know who rest in the grand and simple impression of the mass of the northern block, and follow in detail the composition of part with part, noting the touch of chastely carved ornament here and there to give value to the plain spaces of the beautiful gold-tinted stonework. There is nothing even in Bath to equal this in its classical repose, while to mention the eastern portal of the University is to call up the vision of one of the best bits of monumental design in the whole country, “inspired,” as Mr Bolton well puts it, “by a noble Doric simplicity.”

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 18 December, 1928.

AMENITY OF PRINCES STREET.

18 Atholl Crescent, Edinburgh, December 17, 1928.

Sir,— The letter in this morning's issue under the above heading deserves the support of the citizens on the ground that the projected construction, while of obvious value, would, it appears, be so much in evidence as to constitute an offence against good taste and fitness. Sir Robert Lorimer writes as president of the Incorporation of Architects in Scotland, and on the more technical side of the question no doubt voices a great body of architectural opinion. I would venture to appeal on the more general ground I have just indicated to the Town Council to consider some substantial modification of the proposed scheme.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, January 12, 1929.

QUESTIONS OF AMENITY.

The University, Edinburgh, January 11, 1929.

Sir,— The declaration by the Convener of the Committee on Cleaning and Lighting, reported in your issue of this morning, is to be welcomed as a reasoned expression of opinion on one side of what he unfortunately was bound to call the “old vexed question of amenity.” A good deal of what he says was written with heat, but then it must be acknowledged that the position of the civic authorities has in this matter not been an easy one. He begins by approval of “a sensitive public opinion on questions of this kind,” but later on trounces this public opinion for raising “the cry of ‘wolf’ when there was no danger.” Now I venture to maintain the position that if comparatively little things are allowed to pass unnoticed, they may be used afterwards as precedents, and big things may follow. When the railway question first came up, it was proposed by the companies to run just a single connecting line, with all sorts of safeguards, between Haymarket and the termination of the line from Berwick. If anyone had then hurried to protest he would probably have been told he was crying “wolf,” for the project was such a little one. Yet what has been the result? East Princes Street Garden has been turned into a great place of railways to the enormous loss to the city in the matter of amenity.

This brings me to the point where I venture to think that the Convener has not rightly understood the situation. He writes as if we objected to the right of the proposed structure wherever it might be placed, and thinks we should find it just as obnoxious on the east side of the Mound as on the West. From the west end of the East Gardens, though we get the Bank of Scotland and a perspective of the ridge of the Old Town, the view is very much dominated by the railway installations, and does not amount to very much; but on the other hand, anyone who enters the West Gardens by the steps at the foot of the Mound has at once before him what is perhaps the very finest urban view in the whole world and what we feel is that the whole surroundings of that unique point of view should accord with the glorious prospect it affords. A frequented public convenience, in a position marked so that “people passing could readily find it,” with all the coming and going involved, would certainly seriously interfere with the first impression, which to anyone of sensibility is always a fresh and always a powerful impression. The presence and the associations of the proposed structure are out of accord with the chosen situation, whereas on the other side of the Mound it would have been innocuous.

I am loath to trespass further on your space by comment on other parts of the Convener’s declaration. I think he gets in one or two good ones about the tramways in Princes Street, but I do not personally cry “touché,” because I always felt that one did not look *at* Princes Street, but *from* it, so that tramways would not really matter, and I cannot but look forward to the time when, through some form of the terracing-out plan on the south, the citizens may be able at any hour of the twenty-four to turn their backs on Princes Street and enjoy the incomparable prospect in entirely fitting surroundings. I must add a word, however, when on the subject of tramways, about the lamentable act of vandalism committed in Charlotte Square by the attachment of the bracing wires of the posts to the masonry of the beautiful “Adam” houses, the proprietors of which should have resisted to the last this

contemptuous treatment of an ornament to the city of which its civic fathers should have been proud. Edinburgh should be as careful of its architectural as of its natural treasures.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Times, 13 September, 1929.

THE WAYSIDE IN GERMANY. SYSTEMATIC PROTECTION

The University, Edinburgh, Sept. 11.

Sir,— I was glad to see Mr. Guy Dauber's letter in *The Times* yesterday on the way the Germans protect and enhance the natural beauties of their countryside, if only as a sign that we had at last recognised that what we are starting now under such good auspices has been carried out systematically in Germany for a generation past. The foundation of the League of "Heimatschutz," "The Defence of Home," was an early move, and that was associated with the institution of a yearly "Tag für Denkmalpflege," a two-days conference of those interested either in the ancient past of their land or in the fresh beauties that nature sheds over it every year. A monthly journal devoted to the subject was at the same time started, and I possess a good number of yearly volumes full of interesting ideas and facts. I have attended more than once a "Tag," and wish I could have accepted the invitation I received to that of August of last year, which would have brought my knowledge of recent German developments up to date. The Oslo Historical Congress came however in the way.

It would, I feel pretty sure, conform closely to the aims and methods of the German workers in this field if we could secure a joint meeting of our British nature lovers and are German fellow workers in this great field, from whose lengthy experience we might learn much. I would gladly do anything in my power to facilitate this.

I wonder if Mr. Guy Dauber has come across the works of a lover of art and nature who writes on these themes with a touch of genius as well as with the expert knowledge — Paul Schultze Naumberg. He has written delightfully on how to deal with little towns and villages and the countryside generally. His last book his on the fascinating subject, "Nature as she has been influenced by man."

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 16 October, 1929.

DOOR INTO A NEW WORLD
Purpose of Fine Art Classes.

Professor G. Baldwin Brown, LL.D. occupant of the Chair of Fine Art, had a crowded audience when he gave his opening lecture, which was entitled “The Aim and Scope of a University Chair of Fine Art.”

The original regulations for the conduct of the Chair had been drawn up on very broad and comprehensive lines, said Professor Baldwin Brown, the object being defined as that of “imparting full knowledge and correct ideas with regard to the history and theory of the fine arts, including painting, sculpture, and architecture, and other branches of the art therewith connected.” A more intimate understanding of the work of the department might perhaps be secured if he quoted a phrase which has been used times without number by old students in writing or in talking to him about their experience of the class-work and its result on their minds. The phrase they used was: – “It has opened the door into a new world.” What was the meaning of that phrase? It was the world of beauty, a world full of natural objects and of objects made by art, in which we took what might be termed an aesthetic interest.

In the case of some object of beauty, be it an object of nature or of art, we were invited by it to a sort of reposeful contemplation, in which the mind was at rest but was at the same time receiving impressions which we realise were in some cases affecting us in the deeper parts of our nature. These, it was universally agreed, were impressions of pleasure, but of a pleasure of a markedly different kind from that of the ordinary satisfactions of sense. Some might be tempted to the nasty [sic: hasty] remark – “If this ‘new world’ is only a world of pleasure, what have we to do with it here, in a University which should be a world of work, not of pleasurable repose?” Everybody would admit that there were two sides to human life – the side of effort and of action and the side of repose and thought and spiritual activity in general. These were complementary to each other, and both were needed for an adequately developed human nature. “It has been my experience that students of science, some of whom attained to considerable after-distinction, have taken the fine art class just for the purpose of broadening their culture and avoiding a one-sided devotion to scientific pursuits.”

In their course of study they would, first of all, make the acquaintance of representative works “as they are in themselves,” and then go on to study from the standpoints of aesthetic criticism and technique their more special artistic qualities and from the social standpoint their *raison d'être* and their history. At the same time, as they went on they would be always endeavouring to form some clear idea of the aesthetic principles that underlay the concrete manifestations of the arts. A course of study such as they were beginning that day should result in filling the world for them with new sources of delight, the secret of which they might otherwise never have discovered.

The Scotsman, 26 March 1930

“SCULPTOR’S ‘VALE.’”

The Athenaeum, Pall Mall, S.W.1., March 24, 1930.

Sir,- My attention has been directed to a mistake in a name in the report which you kindly gave of the few words I said at the Macgillivray gathering on Friday night last. I compared Dr Macgillivray with the master of Leonardo da Vinci, Andrea del Verrocchio, and artist of varied gifts, and the sculptor of the world-famous equestrian statue of Colleoni at Venice. Barrochio was quite a different person.

I am, &c.,

G. Baldwin Brown

Scotsman, 28 July, 1930.

THE CALTON CRAG SITE.

University of Edinburgh, July 26, 1930.

Sir,— I did not expect again to beg the hospitality of your columns for the discussion of a question of urban amenity. The situation is, however, now portentous, and every patriotic citizen should give his attention to it. There must be allowance made, no doubt, for the necessarily sketchy character of the drawing of the projected building in *The Scotsman* of last Thursday, but a more absolutely dismal and architectural presentment cannot be imagined. It cannot be called a “design,” for there is in it no composition nor grouping nor dominant feature – and how can there be, when the effort is throughout for economy, secured by sameness of parts and monotony in their conjunction? Reinforced concrete lends itself nobly to certain kinds of aesthetic effect. The flour mills by the Haymarket are in their way architecture but unless I am mistaken, they were built before the highly economic scheme of making everything like everything else was established in high places.

The refusal to allow outside architects to show what they could do with buildings on the Calton site was unwillingly accepted by the public, because it seemed to be based on the plausible plea that only those who had to use the building would know how to arrange most suitably its internal spaces. But the character of the structure with which the city seems to be now threatened might rather suggest that there was behind the refusal the desire for a free hand to give architecture in its artistic aspect the go-by, and to pile one on another a sufficient number of those cubic “elements,” all cast in the same mould and looking out of the same square eye, which utility demanded. The external aspect of the whole resultant mass in relation to its surroundings, and to its effect as a prominent landmark in the city at large, was apparently regarded as a very secondary consideration.

The gist of the whole matter is that though the site might be so treated as to give occasion for excellent architectural effects, this can only be effected with a class of buildings suited to its configurations and character. Public offices are distinctly not such a class. A set of public offices demands for its location a site regular in its plan and also in its levels, with broad, free spaces and straight vistas that suggest dignity and large, sane ideas. When a controversy was going on some years ago about a monumental hall and offices for the L.C.C., John Burns (not then in Government) argued facetiously, but with a good deal of sound sense, that what he called the tortuous ways and obscure proceedings of Government departments were not a little due to the fact that so many of them, like that of the Paymaster-General, were housed in old mansions run together, so that their interiors were like rabbit-warrens or unlighted caves. “How is your officials,” he said, “in regularly planned interiors with broad corridors, and with a sense of space about them, and a gradual reformation in their ways will follow.” The idea is as old as Pericles, in whose time it was formulated by the earliest of all professed town-planners, Hippodamus of Miletus, who was also a social philosopher, and believed that if people were made to walk in straight streets their way of life would show the good influence of their entourage. The truth underlying this view is forced home upon one’s mind by the incongruity of dumping blocks of public offices of the

character and the banal ugliness of plan No. 1. onto a picturesque and broken rock like the southern face of the Calton Hill.

There seems to be really only one satisfactory issue from a situation which in its menace to one of the most important interests of the town has been termed above "portentous." Give us back in its entirety this noble natural feature, to be preserved as an open space in perpetuity, while available at the same time as a base and setting for monuments or monumental structures of a suitable type. For the necessary block of public officers a site spacious enough, but devoid of natural character, can surely even with some difficulty be found.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 16 August, 1930.

MENACE TO DURHAM AND ITS CATHEDRAL.

August 15, 1930.

Sir,— There seems to be at the moment an epidemic of proposals seriously affecting natural and architectural amenities. Putting the suggested Calton Hill monstrosity aside, there is the threat to the Roman Wall of Hadrian, a national possession of the utmost archaeological, and we can also say aesthetic value, and just now there is menaced a monument that is not only of British but of world-wide import. A scheme, not new, but revived under the aegis of the plea of relief of unemployment, has been brought forward affecting the architecture, the site, and the surroundings of Durham Cathedral. These all, especially as seen from the side of the Station, combined to create an *ensemble* of natural, architectural, and, in view of Elvet Bridge, of engineering beauty, unsurpassed, if anywhere equalled, in the world.

The river, the old town on the flat below the mount of the Castle, the Castle itself standing, as may it ever stand, in lordly dignity above the two large mediaeval bridges, the beautiful wooded promontory, and the crowning glory of the whole, the finest Romanesque religious monument in the world, focussing with its great square central tower the rich composition – all go together, and have impressed themselves on our imagination as is the case with few if any such scenes in the world. The loss, if a scheme of the kind proposed were carried out, would be incalculable, and must in the name of civic and national patriotism be avoided. There are plenty of Roman walls still standing, but there are no buildings in situations of the kind to be seen anywhere such as these at Durham.

My attention has been called to the Durham peril by the well-known Durham architect, Mr W. T. Jones, F.R.I.B.A., who has published in the *Durham Chronicle* a strong but temperately-worded protest against the proposal now under consideration by the Durham Town Council. It is not accompanied by a plan or view, but it seems there is to be a viaduct sweeping round the hill that Mr Jones says “would entirely upset the scale of the whole place,” while the beautiful Elvet Bridge would apparently be almost crowded out of existence. It is evident that no tinkering at a scheme of this kind can be satisfactory, and the civic authorities must take a large view and deal with their traffic problem in such a way as to keep new roads and viaducts out of central Durham.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

The Scotsman, 1 May 1931.

JEDBURGH ANTIQUITIES.

18 Atholl Crescent, April 29, 1931.

Sir,— I was interested in “Native of Jedburgh’s” vindication of the late Marquess of Lothian’s initiative in the splendid work which has been carried out at the ancient Abbey. The well-known Jedburgh slab, with carving reminiscent of the work on the Ruthwell Cross, is the gem of its movable possessions, and I should much like to know what is the opinion current in Jedburgh antiquarian circles as to the original destination and use of the piece. The big book on Early Christian Monuments of Scotland gives no help, but a recent authoritative book calls it a cross shaft, which, of course, its proportions render impossible. It cannot be a tombstone, and might, one thinks, have been part of the revetment of a door jamb, which is the purpose of a large slab of similar proportions kept in the little Saxon chapel at Bradford-on-Avon, in Wiltshire.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

ARCHITECTURE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

A course of forty lectures on the “History of Architecture” will be delivered by Professor Baldwin Brown in the winter session of 1884-85, with the object of affording to practical students and to others the means of becoming acquainted with some of the chief architectural epochs of the past. The subject of the course will be the chief styles which have prevailed in Europe from the time of the Greeks – Hellenic, Roman, Early Christian, Byzantine, Romanesque, Gothic, Renaissance. The origin and connection of the different styles will be described, and their characteristics illustrated by representative examples. Three points will be specially kept in view throughout: – 1. The historical aspect of the buildings. These will be exhibited as in each epoch the outcome of certain social and religious tendencies, and as varying according to the spirit of different ages. 2. The constructive aspect of the buildings. The constructive forms employed at each epoch, with their special capabilities, will be explained and illustrated, as well as the part which construction has played at certain periods in determining the form and aesthetic character of edifices. 3. The ornamentation of the buildings. The decorative details employed in the best examples of each style will receive full illustration, both as regards their actual forms and their position in relation to the architectural effect of the structures.

It is believed that historical lectures of this kind may have a distinct practical bearing upon the work of young architects in their profession, and that from the great examples of the past they may learn lessons of the highest value. The buildings of by-gone ages are not to be regarded as models to be copied by the architect of to-day, so much as examples of the successful carrying out of right architectural principles, which are essentially the same in every age. Such principles as that of the suitability of a building to its use and to its environment, of the necessity for clearness and consistency of plan, of the proper use of ornamentation, both as regards amount and position, of the suitable forms of decoration for various styles, with other principles equally important, are abundantly illustrated in the masterpieces of the past, and a study of these cannot fail to assist towards a habit of right thinking on these and kindred matters, on the part of the student of to-day.

THE STUDY OF ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY.

The opening lecture of the course promoted by the Dundee Institute of Architecture, Science, and Art was delivered on the 20th inst. by Professor G. Baldwin Brown. The subject was "The Study of Architectural History." Mr James MacLaren, the President of the Institute, occupied the chair, and monks to those present were Principal Peterson, Rev. Mr. Sugden, Mr. R. Blackadder, Dr. Spence, Mr. R. Keith, and Mr. Charles Ower.

Professor Baldwin Brown said that the few remarks which he should have the honour to offer them that evening had a reference to the work which lay before the Dundee Institute of Architecture, Science, and Art, to which he took that opportunity of wishing a very prosperous and distinguished career, and a useful career, as he was certain it would be. The large scope that the Institute took in its work – embracing, as it did, not only architecture, but all the other arts – was a great feature, and therefore he thought there would be some appropriateness if he offered one or two remarks about the value of keeping up a connection between architecture and the kindred arts of painting and sculpture. In old time the connection between architecture and the other arts of form was much closer than it was at present. The reason of this might partly be found in the spirit in which the arts were now carried on. Architecture, if it were worthy of the name at all, must have about it a certain monumental greatness, while the painter could succeed upon a very small scale of work, and in a purely naturalistic style. The naturalistic spirit which existed in painting, and which every day was becoming more prominent in sculpture, was at the opposite pole to the spirit of great architecture, and the architect and his brother artists, working in different directions, were coming every day to have less and less in common. The result was a severance of the connection between the three great arts of form, a connection which in old time was productive of the happiest results for all the three. Speaking of the advantage of a close connection being kept up between decorative art and architecture, the lecturer said that of recent years many expedients had been tried for the improvement of the decorative work of various kinds which was turned out of our workshops and manufactories. For himself, he believed that nothing would contribute more towards that end than the spread of a sound knowledge of the principles of architecture. The study of the buildings of the past could not fail to awaken a sense of what ornamentation really should be – not a mere external appendage put on anywhere where it would look nice, but something closely related to the structure and to the use of the object to be adorned, something which should be significant as well as beautiful, and should conform to another law than mere caprice. Towards accomplishing this desirable object, industrial museums had done and were doing a much-needed and important work, but there was one danger which it would be necessary to guard against if their efficiency as educational institutions were to be maintained at its highest possible pitch - the danger lest the collections should grow too large, and should be selected without due regard to a high standard of excellence. They would be little educational value in museums fitted with a mere heterogeneous collection of objects in all styles and degrees of merit. The collection, therefore, should be selected, and there should be a specially prepared catalogue pointing out the merits of each object and what those merits depended on, and showing wherein resided the central characteristics of different styles. But, whatever could be done by these means, a more solid advantage could, he was convinced, be gained

by beginning further back, and by awakening the intelligence of the workman to think the thing out for himself rather than copy the results of others. Such and Institute as that which he had the honour of addressing might do a great work by bringing together men engaged in the different processes of the arts, and by setting before them always a high artistic standard, arrived at by a study of the great works of architecture, sculpture, and painting in the past.

Turning to another aspect of the subject, the lecturer said that if the architect – the true master workman – could supply from his commanding position the principles on which work in the decorative arts should be carried on, he could, on the other hand, receive himself advantage of the highest kind from his connection with the painter and sculptor, from whom, in the present day, he was in some danger of being becoming disassociated. This advantage may be summed up in a word. It secured to the architect that he should feel in all he did that he was equally with the painter and the sculptor an artist, and that what he produced was not a convenient heap of bricks or stones, but a work of art. Architecture, as an art, was not a maimed and cramped production. The monuments it had reared in the great epochs of old stood forth clear and perfect expressions of the thought of their Creator. The greatest that sculpture and painting had accomplished was not more purely artistic, more free from any appearance of bondage to mere utility than the achievements of architecture.

The characteristics of architecture, as a true art, as illustrated in the history of the past, was, he afterwards said, the theme to which he would ask them for a few moments to turn. These three points were – First, architecture as an art of expression; second, architecture as the expression of national life; and third, architecture as the expression of great ideas. Under the first head he said it was in the religious festival that man first felt that freedom, that spontaneous impulse towards expression, from which architecture and the arts were born. The treatment by the ancients of their grand buildings rather as monuments to impress the beholder than as habitations or structures for utility conveyed a useful lesson that might be taken to heart, both by those who ordered and those who designed our public buildings. The character of early buildings was commonly emphasised by placing them upon a terraced substructure, the want of which in connection with the Houses of Parliament, and the new Natural History Museum at South Kensington, was shown to be an architectural blunder. Under the second head, he said that in the direction of the Tower of Babel, in the dim twilight before history began, they seemed to see standing out already the great fact to which all artistic history was witness, that a national idea or a common sentiment of a religious or patriotic kind found its most natural outcome in architecture. Again and again had the heart of a people being stirred by some great national undertaking, and they had thrown themselves and all they had into the work. The popular heart still beat as it did when they preached the Crusades and planned the great cathedrals, and when it was reached it was just as responsive. In our own time and country, however, art had no sort of hold upon the popular mind. This was no doubt a legacy to us from Puritanism. The elements which Puritanism had contributed to the national character were amongst the most precious which it enshrined, and he would not echo the cry which was sometimes thoughtlessly raised on behalf of art against Puritanism. Had they to choose between Puritanism and art, they should all rightly hold to the former, but happily no such choice was necessary. It was true that art had in the past not seldom ministered to luxury and pride, but it had also ministered more often and more nobly to religion and the nourishment of great ideas. If they once grasped the truth that art was not a mere plaything or outward adornment, but the expression of the thoughts of great men and of the lives of people, then the supposedly incompatibility of

Puritanism and art would not trouble them. The public history of the past taught us that architecture had in all the great ages of its development drawn its inspiration from the common feelings and aspirations of men – had expressed in every age the special ideas and tendencies of that age; and as each individual had his part in making his age, so he had a part in the production of that art which was, or ought to be, the most perfect expression of an age. To awaken that living personal interest in the members of the public generally in what was going on in architecture and art was one of the highest functions of an Institute like this, and the leaders of the profession had a great obligation upon them to keep up in everything a high ideal, and to preserve their artistic honour unstained. His third point concerned architecture looked at in its highest aspects as the expression of great ideas – as the art which more than any other impressed us with a sense of the sublime through its grandeur, its repose, or its aspiring quality.

The essence of the matter seemed to be that architecture, as it appeared before them in the great monuments of the past, reproduced for us in its own artistic forms the grandeur and beauty of the material creation, affecting us in the same manner as the aspect of nature affected us. Architecture therefore assumed as an art a place of the highest dignity, and the impressions it conveyed blended themselves readily with the emotions of religion. For, as the Hebrew poets reiterated in their magnificent language, these efforts of sublimity, what were they but revelations of the divine spirit which moved through all things? And what was architecture in these aspects of it but a second and in its way equally valid expression of the same divine spirit? The artistic work, therefore, which it fell to an architect to carry out when he strove to make his buildings grand expressive, and beautiful was a most important element in the higher culture of the human race. Grandeur, secured by greatness of style rather than by mere bulk; simplicity, which gave ever a look of greatness; purity of line on which depended repose; suitability, adaptation to human needs, which did not degrade the art, but rather elevated it through imparting to it throughout a rational character; beauty, gained by disciplining into symmetry and into pattern the flowing curves, the rich complexity of natural detail – these were qualities in work at which the architect as an artist was bound to aim, and in aiming at these qualities he was ministering to the spiritual culture of humanity, and making his work a part of the revelation of God to men.

At the close of the lecture a cordial vote of thanks was proposed to Professor Baldwin Brown, on the motion of the chairman.

SEMPER AND THE DEVELOPMENT THEORY

The attention which has been directed, through the pages of *The Architect*, to the late Gottfried Semper, is a fitting tribute to a man of true genius. Few students of artistic history have read Semper "On Style" without feeling that its perusal made an epoch in their studies. Possessing a philosophic mind, he surveyed with a rapid glance the artistic development of the human race as a whole, and it fascinated him to trace the working of great principles through widely differing times and places. He may sometimes have driven his theories too far, as when he assumes a large use by the ancients of tubular construction in metal, though the only certain employment of it was, I believe, in the roof of the Pantheon at Rome. It is remarkable, however, what a vast collection of solid facts he got together from all regions and periods, and he seems to have possessed in addition a rare faculty of divination, which led him to anticipate some of the most recent results of archaeological science. But the qualities which give Semper's book its value are just those that make it decidedly unsuitable for being boiled down into a Science and Art Department handbook. It is not sufficiently regular in plan for this purpose, and the parts which would naturally appear in an abstract are not those which give the book its distinctive character. Part of it is occupied with the laws of style in such matters as the decoration of walls, floors, and ceilings, and with discussions of the particular employment for industrial and decorative purposes to which different materials lend themselves. In these matters Semper makes little pretence of originality. He quotes largely from Redgrave, and continually laments his want of practical acquaintance with the specific qualities and technical handling of various materials. Mr. Stannus might be safely trusted to produce a more complete and useful treatise on the principles of decoration than that incorporated in Semper's "Style."

It is in the other portions of his work, where he takes a wider range, that we get at Semper's mind; and those portions, more philosophic and more subtle, would be likely to escape in the process of condensation. One great interest of Semper's treatment of his subject is its thorough accordance with the modern scientific method. He never rests in a fact of art history as it stands, as does his contemporary and rival theorist Karl Boetticher, but eagerly follows it backward to its origin. Development is to him the key to artistic history; and though he is as convinced as the author of the "Tektonik der Hellenen" himself of the supremacy of the Greeks in matters of style, he derives the forms they used from the arts of earlier peoples. This does not in any way tends to lessen the artistic achievement of the Greeks. It is now clearly seen that in no sphere, except perhaps the political, were they great originators. They were form-givers. Receiving art, religion, letters, science from the East, they fixed upon each alike a distinctively Hellenic stamp and made it entirely their own. The Doric temple, Boetticher and Semper would agree, is distinctively a Hellenic production; but while the former regards it as having sprung forth complete, "like Athene from the head of Zeus," a stone building and a Greek building from the first, the latter, in a more scientific spirit, traces back its origin to wooden structures clothed with draperies and colouring, and associates it with the architecture of other ancient peoples.

In accordance with this view of development, Semper derives the monumental architecture of the ancients from festal structures of a temporary kind, and in doing so sets the art in a new light. Architecture no longer has a servile element; it no longer must be held

to begin in structures for use or for protection, but in its position as a fine art it is from the first an art of expression, the outcome of religious or patriotic enthusiasm. "The festal apparatus," writes Semper, "the improvised framework or scaffolding, adorned and set out with all the accessories and the pomp which signify the character of the occasion and increase the glory of the festival, decked with rich hangings, entwined with boughs and flowers, with festoons and garlands, ornamented with fluttering streamers and trophies – this is the motive of the permanent monument, the object of which is to hand down to future generations the record of the solemn celebration and of the event which it commemorated."

Semper does not systematically develop his theory, but returns to it again and again throughout his work. On the strength of it he enforces the view, which is now the prevailing one, that the peripteral form of the Greek temple, as a monumental canopy over the shrine, is the original form of it, and that the old Vitruvian theory of the gradual enlargement of its plan from the temple in antis, the prostylos, &c. is untenable. On this conception of architecture, too, he bases his famous "Bekleidungsprinzip," or the principle of an crusting or closing a common material with one more beautiful and costly, as, for example, stones with metal plates or with stucco and painting, wood with metal or terra-cotta, or brick with the marble slabs which have been in use in Italy from the close of the Roman Republic to the recent completion of the facade of Sta. Maria dei Fiori. It is a pity that he died too soon to learn that the Greeks sometimes carried this principle so far as to clothe with plates of terra-cotta the solid stone of their Doric cornices! The origin of all these processes he finds in the covering of the posts and boards of the festal structure with rich draperies and garlands.

A large part, however, of the interest of this theory of the derivation of monumental architecture resides in its bearing upon the philosophy of art in general. To many people it would seem to give art a new character; to be, in short, a paradox. As one of the speakers in the recent discussion at the Royal Institute of British Architects expressed it, it is somewhat of a shock to find that what had been looked upon as "real truth" is "real sham." We must, however, look a little deeper than the apparent paradox. Do we not need in this country to modify a little our current views as to "truth" in art? The influence of Wordsworth's poems and prose, and of later and still more eloquent utterances, has brought about a sort of association between "truth to nature" in art and moral uprightness and humility. It has come to be believed in some quarters that the mere close copying of natural detail in pre-Raphaelite fashion is a moral service, reverence paid to the divinity of nature, and the like. The artist must deal with us truthfully, just as the tradesmen must sell unadulterated goods, and architecture, which is not the same inside as out, is in a reprobate style. Through all these notions of his enemies the "Aesthetiker," the "Romantiker," and the "Symboliker," Semper armed with his "principle of covering," hewed his way. It was nothing to him that a work of art answered to austere moral requirements. He felt no more rapture at seeing the whole structure of a Gothic building revealing itself to the eye, than if he had been shown a man who wore his ribs outside his waistcoat. This robust view of art, expressed in language of a rugged eloquence, is given in the following note on page 216 of the second edition of "Der Stil": –

I say that the processes of clothing and of masking are every whit as old as human civilisation, and delight in them is precisely the same thing as delight in all that makes men sculptors, painters, architects, poets, musicians, dramatists – or, in a word, artists. Every artistic effort on the one side, every artistic delight on the

other, implies a certain spirit of revel; and, to use a modern expression, the smoke of the Carnival taper is the true atmosphere of art. The annulling of reality, of the *material* – this is essential wherever it is intended that the *form* shall stand forth as the pregnant symbol, the independent creation of the human spirit. We must make forgotten the means which have to be used for the production of the artistic impression, and not blurt them out where they are not needed, and miserably mistake our *rôle*. To this principle the natural man is led by his unsophisticated feeling in all early artistic attempts. To this again return the great, true masters of art in all her departments, only that these in the time of the highest development of art *mask even the material of their masks*. This it was that led Pheidias to his treatment of the two subjects in the tympana of the Parthenon. It is clear that he conceived of his theme – the double myth he had to represent and the divinities which appeared to play their parts in the story – as a material to be treated just like the stone out of which they were made. And this material he sought as much as possible to conceal; that is to say, he freed the divinities from every sort of material outward sign of their unrepresentable religious nature. In that his gods come before us; they rouse our enthusiasm both singly and in their connection, before everything else, as expressions of the purely human Beautiful and Good. What's Hecuba to him?

For the same reason, the drama can only have importance at the beginning and at the highest pitch of the developed civilisation of a people. The oldest vase pictures give us ideas of the early materially-masked plays of the Greeks. In a transfigured form, like that stone drama of Pheidias, so Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and at the same time Aristophanes and the older comedians take up again the primeval masked play, and the proscenium becomes the framing of the picture of a mighty piece of the history of humanity, which has indeed never been acted in reality, but which is for ever recurring, and will recur so long as human hearts beat. What's Hecuba to him? The revel of the mask breeds through Shakespeare's dramas. Revel and smoke of taper, the spirit of the Carnival – and this is indeed not always joyous – meets us in Mozart's "Don Juan;" for music too needs this annulment of reality in form, and to the musician, too, Hecuba is nothing, or should be nothing.

But it boots little to wear a mask where behind the mask things are not right, or where the mask is useless. Before that the material (of which we cannot get rid) can be in the sense in which we are speaking *annulled in the artistic representation*, it is necessary first above all things that it should be completely mastered. Only perfect technical finish, well-understood and correct handling of the material according to its qualities, and, above all, a constant reference to these last in the process of giving the artistic form can make the material forgotten, can emancipate from it entirely the artistic representation, can in a word elevate a simple study of nature to the rank of a lofty work of art.

This is strong meat, and some who seek for inspiration where Wordsworth found it may not relish it. It is only, however, a strong expression of a truth, which, on consideration, all must recognise – that before art can be, nature must be recreated by human thought. Those to whom the "Primrose by the river's brim" is more than a mere "yellow primrose" have made it what it is by their own thought. From this to the "Birds" of Aristophanes or to "Faust," there is only a question of the *degree* to which the human imagination transforms nature.

And is there really this antithesis between nature and human thought? Semper's paradox is made plain by a greater than Semper, one who, true to the bent of his genius, brings to light a profound philosophic truth through a conversation between an old man and a girl at a country festival. Perdita will not have "streaked gilly-flowers" in her garden because –

There is an art, which, in their piedness, shares
With great creating nature

And Polixenes answers in words which contain in brief the whole theory of art –

Say there be;
Yet nature is made better by no mean,
But nature makes that mean: so, o'er that art,
Which you say adds to nature, is an art
That nature makes. You see, sweet maid, we marry
A gentler scion to the wildest stock;
And make conceive a bark of baser kind
By bud of noble race: this is an art
Which does mend nature – change it rather: but
The art itself is nature.

Perdita yields to the argument, and answers, "So it is." Polixenes presses his advantage: –
Then make your garden rich in gilly-flowers. But here Perdita turns the tables on the philosopher by enunciating a principle still more fundamental in art than his: –

I'll not put
The dibble in earth to set one slip of them.

This delightful assertion of the freedom of individual taste is after all the only outcome of the wise artistic discussion. And as this will certainly prevail now as ever, notwithstanding all our convincing arguments, we may leave Semper and the Mediaevalists to fight their battles as long as they will.

Semper and Semperism.

Sir,- if you and your readers are not already tired of this subject, I hope you will allow me space for a few words of reply to your correspondent on "Utilitarianism in Education."

In the first place, Semper's book on "Style" is not about architecture as the building art so much as about the decorative arts, which are subordinate to it. The book makes no pretence to supply a set of rules for the erection of buildings. What it offers is a systematic treatment of the subject of ornament, and copious illustrations of decorative principles drawn from the great works of the past. With these are joined discussions and suggestions relating to the history and philosophy of the arts, which to the non-technical reader make the chief interest of the work. Now, with regard to the "use" of all this, of course no one ever supposed that opinions as to the primal origin of architecture have the least effect upon the practical work of an architect of to-day. Such questions may naturally have a special interest for architects, just as questions on the theory of musical effect interested the musician; but in neither case is practice in the least influenced. These views and observations of Semper, which occur throughout his work, but form only a small portion of it, have their value quite apart from any effect on the construction of modern buildings or on the art of capturing clients, and this value is sufficiently proved by the constant expressions of indebtedness to Semper which are to be found in recent works dealing with the subjects on which he wrote. The case is different with Semper's treatment of "style in the arts." Here there is no possibility of denying the practical value of his work. I do not hesitate to say that an acquaintance with Semper would "increase a student's powers, and enable him to design better buildings." It would do so not by explaining construction or entering into technical questions, but by educating his artistic taste, and rendering him familiar with the great masterpieces of old time. No doubt Semper, as himself a practical architect who carried out many important buildings, was as much at home in "the strength of materials" as in matters artistic, and his pupils will know what was the value of his technical teaching. "Der Styl" deals with the artistic side of the architect's work, and not so much with the planning as with the decorative treatment of buildings. In these matters his teaching seems to me singularly able and practical, and you have nothing at all of the "ism" about it. It is not, as I mentioned in a former letter, specially original, and demands the swallowing of no special theory.

It will evidently be a surprise to "Cui Bono" to hear it stated that Semper, though a foreigner and a professor, was not a doctrinaire, and that his "rigorous system" exists nowhere out of "Cui Bono's" imagination. Mr Lawrence Harvey, who knows much more about Semper than I do, has told us, on his personal authority as an old pupil, that Semper's teaching "leads to liberty," and has given no ground at all for your correspondent's supposition that this liberty was only to be reached through a reaction from the master's actual influence. I know Semper only from his published writings and the various records of his work in connection with the Science and Art Department, and I have gathered from these that he was a teacher who desired, above all things, to call out the student's powers into independent exercise. His "system" seems to have consisted in impressing upon the learner the importance of realising clearly everything that he was doing. There should be a reason, he taught, for everything, and all the parts of a work should hang together, so that the whole

becomes an organic unity. In order to enforce this practical principle, Semper surveyed the previous history of the arts, and by showing how the decorative forms used in various styles originated, and how they were employed by the masters of old, took them at once out of the region of mere caprice and fashion.

“Cui Bono” doubtless believes in a more excellent way, and imagines, as he tells us, the builder of the future erecting his economical and convenient structures strictly on builders’ principles, and then offering his client as a luxury for after consideration, “as much ornament as he wishes.” He seems to think that public taste is rapidly deteriorating down to a point when architecture will cease to be looked upon as a fine art. I fancy, however, that it will be long before he gets the public on his side. I prefer to believe that the public taste is advancing in the direction of better things, and that everything which spreads a knowledge of art and elevates taste by calling attention to the best models will be welcomed by both artists and the public. “Cui Bono” does not need to be told that in decorative or industrial arts, with which Semper’s “Style” chiefly deals, the workmen of this country have lost ground as compared with their foreign neighbours. The reason is the higher artistic quality of foreign productions, and this is due to the fact that foreign nations have not pooh-poohed their Sempers, but have cultivated a genuine interest in art by every means in their power. If in these branches of production we are to “bring back clients,” it must be by encouraging by every means in our power the development of artistic taste, and not by listening to outcries against anything which seems a little systematic. By all means let books on the strength of materials be written and studied to the utmost possible extent. These belong to another and vitally important branch of the architect’s work, one which the great builders of old fully understood. But excellent in this respect should go hand in hand with artistic excellence. To cry down the importance of the latter, as “Cui Bono” cries it down, is dishonouring to the profession to which I must presume he belongs. Let us learn all that is to be learned from engineering practice or from any other source, but let us not even in jest – and I cannot believe “Cui Bono” to be quite serious – attempt to lower the position of the art to which we owe the creation of monuments that are among the most precious possessions of the human race.

I am, &c.

G. Baldwin Brown.

University of Edinburgh: Jan. 19.

CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

A course of lectures on Greek art has been delivered in Edinburgh by Professor Baldwin Brown. In closing the series some remarks were made on classical archaeology: –

The classical languages, he said, open up to us so large a portion of the history of human development that there is little danger that the study of them will really decline. Such studies may, however, to some extent have to be liberalised. The movement against classical studies is due largely to a natural reaction against the somewhat narrow and exclusive spirit in which they have often been pursued. Pure textual scholarship and composition have a great charm, and provide a very refined form of mental training, but it is rather a training for the few who can enter into the “inner circle” of the scholar’s lore. To the mass of pupils, for example, educated on the old-fashioned English public school system, making verses is a sort of mechanical knack, and translation the acquisition of the proper number of traditional interpretations of obscure passages. In the present day more life is being infused into classical studies by stimulating the pupil’s interest in the subject-matter of his books, and by illustrating them from the facts of ancient life. Here is where the study of classical archaeology will find its place. Under this head are comprehended all forms of ancient art, and art among classical peoples was so universally diffused that almost everything that was made, and a good deal that was done, took an artistic form. Hence the references to art in its various forms in ancient writers are innumerable, and though it is possible to elucidate these references by the use of dictionaries and commentaries, it is far better to acquire a general idea of the subject as a whole, which may provide a sort of running artistic commentary on ancient literature. In the case of Homer it is possible now to reconstruct almost every one of the numerous artistic objects mentioned in the poems, either from the evidence of recent discoveries or from Egyptian wall paintings and similar sources. The lyric poets, who belonged to a very interesting age of Greek art, need an artistic commentary, and so does Herodotus. In the Attic age politics became the prominent theme, and Thucydides seem to show a studied avoidance of all reference to the picturesqueness of the external life of his time. Plato, on the other hand, is full of references to this outward life, in which art was so important an element; while Aristophanes is not intelligible without the aid of archaeology to explain his allusions to buildings, dress, furniture, utensils, and habits of life. The “Baccae” of Euripides, illustrated by Mr. Sandys from works of ancient art, is a sign of the new interest in this side of classical scholarship. The Roman poets need also this sort of interpretation, and the architecture and topography of Rome and Roman portrait statues are the wonder of all who would read the historians with satisfactory results. It may be taken as certain that the liberalising of classical studies will consist in no small degree in bringing to bear on them the results of a knowledge of the remains of ancient architecture and art. Hitherto this knowledge has chiefly been centred in Germany, where chairs of archaeology are abundant, and where it forms one of the regular subjects in the university curriculum. Hence there are many teaching positions open to those proficient in the subject, and it (archaeology) becomes a recognised career. This has not hitherto been the case in Britain, but of late years a beginning has been made, from which much may be expected. There are chairs of Archaeology at Cambridge, and a fine new museum of casts, such as we ought to have in this city. There is a chair at University College, London, occupied by Professor

Newton, the first of British archaeologists. At Oxford there has been recently founded a chair of Classical Archaeology, and a Scotsman of eminence in antiquarian exploration, Mr Ramsay, has been selected to fill it. There, too, is to be a museum of casts. At South Kensington a museum of casts has been opened, while the courses of lectures on ancient art and its remains at the British Museum are becoming increasingly popular. Further, in secondary schools efforts are being made to interest boys in their classical studies by giving them some idea of ancient buildings and works of art. No school class-room is complete without its photographs and drawings, or its casts, and the interest thus excited will be sure to increase as greater and greater facilities are given for following this branch of study. A class for classical art at this university is not only a right thing to be instituted at a great seat of learning, and in a city famous above all things for its educational facilities, but it will also be found to answer the practical requirements. It is certain that questions involving a knowledge of ancient art will find their way more and more into the examination papers for classical scholarships. It is certain, too, that those who seek masterships in secondary schools will find it of advantage to have a knowledge of something more than the mere text of classical writers. Ancient art has a good chance of finding itself soon in the satisfactory position of a "paying subject." There is every hope, therefore, that this study of archaeology may before long find a firm foothold in our midst.

Appendix V.

Associated Publications by Malcolm A. Cooper.

1. 'Ettie and Maude: Problems of identification in the diaries and letters of John Ruskin, and the letters of Christina and Dante Gabriel Rossetti.' *Ruskin Review and Bulletin*, 9, 2 (Autumn, 2013), 14-22.
2. 'Gerard Baldwin Brown, Edinburgh and the Conservation Movement.' *The Historic Environment: Policy and Practice*, 4, 2 (2013), 156-77.
3. 'Gerard Baldwin Brown and the Preservation of Edinburgh's Old Town.' *Transactions of the Ancient Monument Society*, 58 (2014), 134-154.

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Ettie and Maude: Problems of identification in the diaries and letters of John Ruskin, and the letters of Christina and Dante Gabriel Rossetti.

Malcolm A Cooper

Introduction

When the first edited volume of *The Diaries of John Ruskin* ('Diaries') was published in 1956, John Lewis Bradley noted a number of errors of fact and inconsistencies in editorial procedures. The second volume suffered equally, with its editors 'frequently careless of annotations' and allowing 'a number of persons [to] pass through this text without any annotation at all.' By the final volume, readers were being cautioned to use the *Diaries* with utmost care.¹ This paper identifies how difficulties in editorial attributions in the *Diaries*, the *Winnington letters*² ('Letters'), and the Rossetti letters, have obscured two families' relationship with John Ruskin.

The Baldwin Browns and the Leifchilds

On 9 August 1880 Christina Rossetti asked Dante 'Is Scotus doing anything in the way of poetics, I wonder. I further wonder what he thinks of young Gerald [sic] Baldwin Brown having got the Edinburgh Art Chair. G.B.B., perhaps you know, has for a mother a Leifchild.'³ The editor of Rossetti's letters identified the appointee as Colonel G.R. Brown, a painter who exhibited at the Royal Academy between 1865 and 1877, and also provided Dante's reaction to the appointment: 'I can't conceive this election of G. R. Brown. What can he possibly know?'⁴ In fact, Edinburgh had not appointed Colonel Brown but instead the relatively unknown Gerard Baldwin Brown (Fig. 2).⁵ The confusion was not helped when the *Art Journal*⁶ referred to 'George' and *The Academy* to 'Gerald.'⁷ Prior to his appointment Baldwin Brown had studied at Oxford and had then trained as an artist. He went on to

¹ *The Diaries of John Ruskin*, 3 vols, ed. by Joan Evans and J. H. Whitehouse, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1956-59). Reviews by John Lewis Bradley. *Victorian Studies*, 1, 1 (September 1957), 100; 2, 1 (September 1958), 88; 3, 4 (Jun 1960), 401-2.

² *The Winnington Letters: John Ruskin's Correspondence with Margaret Alexis Bell and the Children of Winnington School*, ed. by Van Akin Burd (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1969). Hereafter, *Letters*.

³ Christina Rossetti to Dante Gabriel Rossetti, 9 August 1880; *The Letters of Christina Rossetti*, ed. by Antony H. Harrison, 4 vols (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1999), 2, 855. Dante Gabriel Rossetti nicknamed William Bell Scott 'Scotus' after the thirteenth-century philosopher.

⁴ Dante Gabriel Rossetti to Frederick James Shields, July 1880; *Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, ed. by Oswald Doughty and John Robert Wahl, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 4, 2298.

⁵ The announcement was made on July 16th 1880.

⁶ *The Art Journal*, September 1880, 287.

⁷ *The Academy*, July 24, 1880, No. 429, 71.

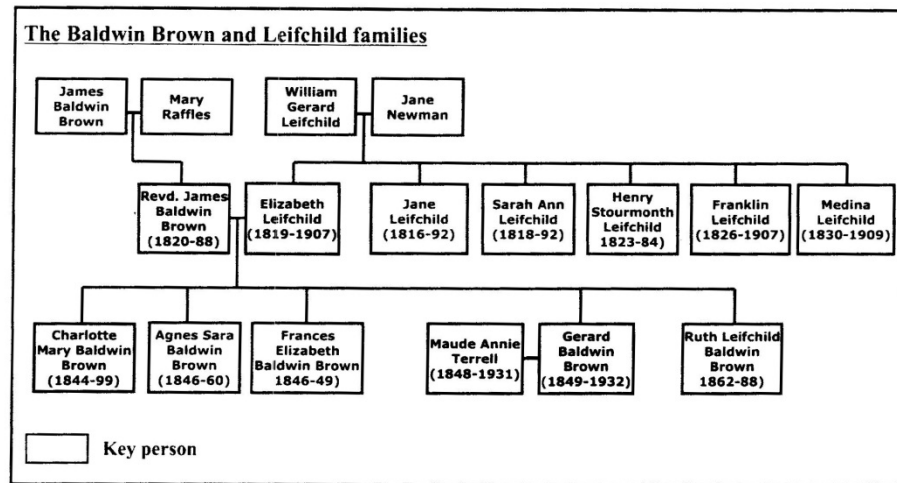


Figure 1.

hold the Edinburgh Chair for fifty years and by the time of his death in 1932 he was widely known as a tireless art scholar, architectural historian, educator, social improver and preservationist.⁸



Figure 2. Gerard Baldwin Brown (1849-1932). Reproduced by permission of Edinburgh University Library, Special Collections Department, JY 1202.

Gerard's mother, Elizabeth Leifchild,⁹ came from a large family (Fig. 1). Her eldest brother, Henry Stormonth Leifchild,¹⁰ was a sculptor and friend of the Pre-Raphaelite Alexander Munro. Christina Rossetti's correspondence shows that the Leifchilds were family friends.¹¹ In 1875, for example, she wrote to Alexander Macmillan:¹²

⁸ He was the Watson-Gordon Chair of Fine Art from 1880-1930. He published 16 books, including artist biographies, a major series on the arts and architecture of early England and an influential book on ancient monument preservation. See, *Proceedings of British Academy*, 21, 1932, 3-12.

⁹ 1819-1907. Daughter of William Gerard Leifchild and Jane Newman.

¹⁰ 1823-1884. His works included the Guards Memorial at Chelsea Hospital.

¹¹ *The Letters of Christina Rossetti*, letters 355, 356, 583, 586, 2075.

¹² Publisher of *Goblin Market and Other Poems*.

I hope that much health & enjoyment await you & Mrs Macmillan in our lovely Italy. Pray assure her that I do not forget having, when she was Miss Pignatel, once met her & her Sister at my kind friends' the Leifchilds.¹³



Figure 3. Rev'd. James Baldwin Brown.

In 1843 Elizabeth married James Baldwin Brown¹⁴ (Fig. 3) and they were to have five children - Charlotte, Agnes and Frances (twins), Gerard and Ruth. James was to become the well-known congregational minister of Brixton Independent Chapel in south London. Mentored by his close friend Alexander J. Scott (a key figure in the Christian Socialist movement),¹⁵ he became a prolific author of sermons and controversial religious texts.¹⁶ He knew of Octavia Hill's work with the poor and undertook similar initiatives in south London, while campaigning on national issues such as the improvement of

¹³ Christina Rossetti to Alexander Macmillan, 26 January 1875; *Letters of Christina Rossetti*, 2, 586. Jeanne Barbe Emma Pignatel, was Macmillan's second wife who he married in 1872.

¹⁴ James Baldwin Brown the younger (1820-1884). He was the son of James Baldwin Brown the elder (1790-1843), barrister, author and active dissenter.

¹⁵ J. Philip Newell, *A.J. Scott and his Circle*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1981. Scott became Principal of Owens College, Manchester.

¹⁶ For Baldwin Brown's theology see M. Hopkins, *Nonconformity's Romantic Generation*, (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2004), pp. 17-45.

women's education and the removal of barriers to nonconformists.¹⁷ He was also interested in art and, through Henry Leifchild, met John Ruskin and Pre-Raphaelites including Munro, Rossetti and Woolner.¹⁸

Identifying Ettie Brown

James Baldwin Brown's friendship with Ruskin is reflected in the *Letters*.¹⁹ On 9 December 1863, for example, Ruskin wrote of his day in Manchester: 'Afterwards we dined at Mr Scott's [...] It is this Mr Scott, you know whom Baldwin Brown speaks of so reverently.'²⁰ However, it is in relation to this Manchester visit that we find the root of a problem of identification that runs through the *Diaries* and *Letters*. The editorial annotation reads:

Baldwin Brown, then in Edinburgh. Ruskin's diaries show that Brown's daughter visited Denmark Hill in 1867; the Brown family also visited [sic] on another occasion during the same year.²¹

It is clear though that the editors had confused and conflated the London Baldwin Brown family with Dr John Brown, the Edinburgh physician, author and favoured correspondent of Ruskin,²² and that this mistake led in turn to the misidentification of 'Ettie'.²³ The confusion can be seen in relation to the diary entries for October 25, 1866: 'Chat over letters in morning. Yellow fog. Susie Scott and Ettie (Miss Brown) called' and 21 March 1867: 'Very miserable in east wind on terrace of Crystal Palace. Met Ettie Brown.' In both instances Ettie is identified by the editors as Dr John Brown's daughter. They do not, however, provide the grounds for this identification and there is in fact a far stronger candidate who has been previously overlooked.

To correct matters we start with two diary entries. On 31 October 1867,

¹⁷ See, for example, D.C. Lathbury (ed.), *Correspondence on Church and Religion of William Ewart Gladstone*. (London: John Murray, 1910), letter 213, 219-20. James Baldwin Brown would have been particularly satisfied that Gerard was the first nonconformist to gain a non-clerical fellowship at Oxford.

¹⁸ *In Memoriam*, ed. by Elizabeth Baldwin Brown (London: James Clarke and Co, 1884), p. 62. Ruskin mentions both Munro and Woolner in *Works*, XIV, 119.

¹⁹ In February 1860, Ruskin asks the Winnington children to 'Tell Miss Bell I am much obliged for the book, "Baldwin Brown." It is very beautiful.' (*Letters*, letter 79, 227). The editorial annotation suggests that Ruskin had confused the author with the book title and that the book was likely to have been James Baldwin Brown's first major work, *The Divine Life in Man*.

²⁰ *Letters*, letter 257, pp. 453-54.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 454, note 2. There is no evidence that James and Elizabeth Baldwin Brown lived in Edinburgh.

²² 1797-1861., *Works* 36, lxxxviii-xci; See also, *The Letters of Dr John Brown*, ed. by D.W. Forrest (London, A & C Black, 1907).

²³ We should note that, adding to the potential confusion, there is another 'Ettie,' Ethel Hilliard, who appears in the *Diaries*. She was a niece of Lady Trevelyan and we can usually identify when Ruskin is referring to Hilliard as he tends to include mention other members of her family, in particular her sister Constance ('Connie') and suggest that they have 'come up to town'.

Ruskin wrote: 'At Kensington Museum, looking over new arrangements. Dinner at home to Baldwin Browns' and on 3 December 1874: 'Working hard on Botticelli lecture yesterday – not coming well. Ettie, Gerard and Mr. Brown, much pleasing to me, at lunch.' Although no editorial identification is given, we can be confident that both entries refer to the London Baldwin Browns and that Gerard is the future Edinburgh Professor of Fine Art.²⁴ The wording of the second entry also strongly suggests that Ettie was a family member. There is further support for this in a letter from Ruskin to Margaret Bell in December 1865:

I am glad you so far concur with me about the tone of the Ettie letter. It is partly in the blood – Liefchild [*sic*], & his sister are all same: But partly it is mere youth and inexperience in Ettie, and is not meant. I shall give her a quiet lecture some day and she will be the better for it. She showed quite as much conceit in thinking she had found out new things in crystallography, —before she knew a square from a triangle.²⁵

Taking these together it is tempting to identify 'Ettie' as Elizabeth Leifchild. However, the reference to 'youth and inexperience' does not fit as Elizabeth was then aged 46. It seems that Ruskin was making a more general point about the temperament of the female Leifchild line and we must therefore look to Elizabeth's daughters to find Ettie.²⁶ By 1865 Agnes and Frances were dead and the youngest daughter, Ruth, was only 3 years old. This leaves us with James' favourite daughter, Charlotte. We know that James took a particular interest in Charlotte's education and that she in turn had taken part in his charitable work throughout her adult life.²⁷ When Charlotte died in January 1899 the death notice in *The Times* read:

BROOKE.—On the 1st inst., at 2 Bushey Grange-road, Bushey, CHARLOTTE MARY (ETTIE), wife of J. R. Brooke, Esqre., and daughter of the late Revnd. J. Baldwin Brown, aged 54.²⁸

It seems reasonable to conclude therefore that a number of the 'Ettie' entries in the *Diaries* and the *Letters* refer to Charlotte Baldwin Brown. The 'Miss Brown (Baldwin) and her friends at lunch' with John Ruskin on 11 April

²⁴ Gerard was at Oxford from 1869-1877 (Oriel and Brasenose). Given his keen interest in art it is likely that he knew Ruskin in Oxford and attended his art lectures.

²⁵ John Ruskin to Margaret Bell, 7 December 1865; *Letters*, letter 397, p. 576. The editorial annotation for 'Liefchild, & his sister' reads 'unidentified.'

²⁶ The other Leifchild sisters remained childless.

²⁷ In the Preface to *In Memoriam*, Elizabeth Baldwin Brown records that Charlotte 'has contributed an account of the "Work among the Poor," in which she took so important a part'. This is likely to have included the work of the Moffat Institute in Brixton which James established and named after Robert Moffat, a missionary who had become a member of Baldwin Brown's congregation on his return from Africa.

²⁸ 4 January 1899, p.1

1867 must be Charlotte and it seems likely that she appears also in the entries for 25 October 1866, 21 March 1867 and 3 December 1874 (see above). She may also have been one of those visiting Ruskin on 31 October 1867 and his companion at the British Museum on 30 October 1875. Taken together these entries suggest a previously unidentified and long-standing friendship.

We should note here also that as the *Diaries* editors believed that 'Ettie' was Scottish they also suggested that her friend Susie Scott was 'Probably a Scottish cousin'.²⁹ Susan was in fact the daughter of Alexander J. Scott, James Baldwin Brown's friend and mentor. She had been a pupil at Winnington and Ruskin's 1865 letter about Ettie and the Leifchilds raises the possibility that Charlotte may also have been there. There are two further pieces of evidence which add weight to this suggestion. In the preface to *The Home Life: In the Light of Its Divine Idea*, published in 1866,³⁰ James Baldwin Brown noted that the inspiration for the book had come after he had spent 'some days last autumn at a large old mansion in the north of England, where a troop of bright young girls are being trained to a wise and noble womanhood'. This must refer to Winnington Hall and raises the possibility that he was visiting his daughter there.³¹ Two years later, Ruskin complained that the Winnington girls lost enthusiasm for his teaching when left to themselves:

One or two – egotistical and ambitious worked on, but their work was bad. Some of the older girls – that Miss Brown, for instance, were really helpful, I fancy, but in a way which was more a clergyman's than a masters.³²

The evidence for Charlotte being at Winnington is admittedly not conclusive. We can though be confident both that Ruskin and Margaret Bell knew Charlotte and that her father had stayed at Winnington in the autumn of 1865.

Identifying 'Maude'

Having established Ruskin's links with the Baldwin Brown and Leifchild families, we might also offer a possible identification for 'Maude' who appears in the Winnington letters. One of Ruskin's favourite 'children' at Winnington Hall was Lily Armstrong. He wrote to her following her marriage:

Very glad especially to hear you are staying with Maude, and I *do* wish I

²⁹ *Diaries*, October 12, 1866, p. 601, note 3.

³⁰ London, Smith, Elder and Co. The preface is dated 17 April, 1866. The book was dedicated to Alexander Scott who had died during the latter stages of its production.

³¹ This might also explain Charlotte's friendship with Susan Scott who is known to have attended Winnington.

³² John Ruskin to Mrs John Simon, 19 March 1867; *Letters*, Letter 421, pp. 599-600. The reference to a clergyman would also seem of relevance to the argument given the occupation of Charlotte's father.

had been at Oxford to receive you both. [...] Be sure always, Lily dear, of my silent care for you — and believe me, with love to Maude³³

There is also an earlier reference in the *Letters* to a pupil called Maud, again associated with Lily:

I put my coat on the wrong side before, to look like an Irishman; Lily highly approved of this arrangement, and was buttoning it for me as far awry as she could at the back; but Maud and Isabelle wouldn't have it awry, and buttoned it right, as fast as she put it wrong;³⁴

In both cases the editor was unable to shed light on her identity. We can though suggest a possible candidate who was at Winnington Hall in 1871. This was 'Maud A Terrill' who, according to the census, was resident as a 22 year old English governess.³⁵ At some stage Maude Terrell and Charlotte Baldwin Brown met and became close friends as Maude was one of Charlotte's witnesses at her marriage in 1876³⁶ (one possibility is that they met at Winnington). The 1881 census shows that Maude subsequently moved to East View School in Croydon.³⁷ Interestingly, this school was run by Jane Leifchild, Elizabeth Leifchild's eldest sister and Charlotte Baldwin Brown's aunt and it is likely that Maude knew of this school through Charlotte.³⁸

In 1882 Maude (Fig 4) married Charlotte's brother, Gerard, and she spent the remainder of her life in Edinburgh. She became known subsequently as an Edinburgh flower painter, exhibiting at the Royal Scottish Academy's annual exhibition in 1884,³⁹ and she also prepared illustrations for Gerard's books. She and Gerard became closely involved with the Edinburgh Arts and Crafts movement, and they became friends of Patrick Geddes and Elisabeth Haldane,⁴⁰ providing art training for workers through the Edinburgh Social Union.⁴¹ Maude and Gerard were also highly active supporters of the

³³ John Ruskin to Mrs. W.T.S. Kevill-Davies, 6 December 1875; *Letters*, letter 523, p. 692.

³⁴ John Ruskin to Margaret Ruskin, 22 May 1864; *Letters*, letter 302, pp. 500-01.

³⁵ This was Maude Annie Terrell of Exeter (1848-1931). She was the daughter of Robert Hull Terrell and Anne Mandell Kingsbury.

³⁶ Charlotte married John Reeve Brooke, who had been a fellow student of Gerard's at Oriel College, Oxford.

³⁷ The school is described in the census as a 'Super Educational Home (inst)' in the civil parish of Croydon. A number of members of the Leifchild and the Baldwin Brown families are interred at West Norwood cemetery which lies close by.

³⁸ The census shows that Elizabeth's other sisters, Sarah Ann and Medina, were also resident, as was Charlotte Baldwin Brown's youngest sister, Ruth.

³⁹ Royal Scottish Academy Annual Report 1884. See also, Peter J M McEwan, *The Dictionary of Scottish Art and Architecture* (Ballater: Glengarden Press, 2004), 2nd edition, p. 63.

⁴⁰ Haldane had worked with Octavia Hill in London before moving to Edinburgh. See, *Octavia Hill's Letters to Fellow Workers 1872-1911*, ed. by Robert Whelan (London: Kyrle, 2005), pp. 489-90, note 18.

⁴¹ This was the equivalent of the Kyrle Society in Edinburgh. See, Elizabeth Cumming, *Hand Heart and Soul* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2006), 11; Edinburgh Social Union Minute Books.

Women's Education Movement,⁴² with Maude instrumental in the creation of the first Women's Student Union at Edinburgh University in 1905.

Conclusion

There is growing interest in John Ruskin's influence and legacy.⁴³ This brief article has sought to introduce two families — the Leifchilds and the Baldwin Browns — both highly active in the fields of art, education and social reform, and to demonstrate their previously unrecognised links to Ruskin.



Figure 4. Maude Annie Terrell.

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⁴² Gerard ran Fine Art courses for the *Edinburgh Association for the University Education of Women*.

⁴³ See, for example, Stuart Eagles, *After Ruskin: The Social and Political Legacies of a Victorian Prophet, 1870-1920* (Oxford: OUP, 2011); Also, Chris Poole, The Other Adele, *Ruskin Review and Bulletin*, 7, 2, Autumn 2011, 43-53.

Gerard Baldwin Brown, Edinburgh, and the Care of Ancient Monuments

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Gerard Baldwin Brown was appointed as the first Professor of Fine Art in Edinburgh in 1880. In 1905 he published *The Care of Ancient Monuments*. This book presented a comprehensive survey of the heritage protection systems in Europe, calling for the strengthening of the heritage legislation in Britain and the creation of a new national inventory body. It was to prove to be a key book in the development of cultural resource management systems in Britain and yet, due to a lack of a broader understanding of Baldwin Brown and his conservation activities, he is often overlooked or given only passing mention in conservation historiographies. This paper sheds light on Baldwin Brown's wider preservation campaigns in Edinburgh and suggests that it was these experiences which persuaded him of the need for the book and strongly influenced the recommendations it contained. Study of his work in Scotland's capital also sheds interesting light on the emergence of discourses of urban heritage conservation.

KEYWORDS Cultural resource management, historiography, legislation, preservation, civil society, urban heritage, Edinburgh, Scotland

Introduction

While Gerard Baldwin Brown's place in the study of Anglo-Saxon art and architecture was firmly established by his six-volume *The Fine Arts in Early England* (Figure 1),¹ his place in the conservation movement is less clear.² His book, *The Care of Ancient Monuments*, which was published in 1905, was of undoubted significance in the development of heritage management in Britain and yet he is commonly overlooked or given only passing mention in conservation historiographies. There seem to be a number of reasons for this. The absence of detailed studies, combined with the broad scope of his interests, has certainly led to an incomplete and fragmented understanding of his work. Another factor is that British conservation narratives tend to focus on developments in England but Baldwin Brown pursued many of his conservation campaigns in Edinburgh. He had moved there from London in 1880, following his appointment as the University's first Professor of Fine Art, and was to remain in Scotland's capital until his death fifty-two years later.



FIGURE 1 Gerard Baldwin Brown.

By courtesy of Edinburgh University Library, Special Collections (fY 1202 85/97)

Baldwin Brown's conservation work in Edinburgh is of particular interest not only for the study of the city's conservation movement but also for the light that it sheds on the levers of power which were available to preservationists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (i.e. before the arrival of legislative protection for the urban historic environment). Although not generally recognized, it was Baldwin Brown's own frustrating experience of pursuing the preservation of historic buildings and monuments, and their settings, in Edinburgh which persuaded him that stronger central government intervention was necessary and provided the motivation for *The Care of Ancient Monuments* and the recommendations it contained.³ The study of Baldwin Brown's activities in Edinburgh is also of broad interest in terms of the light it sheds on the emergence of discourse relating to urban heritage and its preservation.⁴

The character of Edinburgh

Edinburgh has a particularly striking form and appearance.⁵ The Old Town, atop a high and narrow ridge, with its castle, Scottish vernacular buildings, and crowded medieval urban topography, contrasts strongly with the New Town, which is characterized by its classical design, wide streets and squares, palace fronted blocks, and formal gardens.⁶ The city's topography and green spaces are also important contributors to its character. Between the Old and New Towns lies a deep valley, laid out in the nineteenth century as public gardens, while to the immediate east, Calton Hill, Salisbury Crags, and Arthur's Seat provide a dramatic backdrop for the city.

The distinct character and separation of these three elements was disguised to some extent by planned improvements in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Wide roads were cut through the Old Town to improve access, bridges and embankments were constructed across the valley to provide links to the New Town, a railway was introduced into the valley, and Calton Hill was gradually encroached upon. The Old Town, increasingly regarded as poorly-ventilated, overcrowded, and unhealthy, became the focus of major area-based clearance as part of a sanitary reform programme.⁷ The 1867 Improvement Act alone resulted in the demolition of 2,721 Old Town properties,⁸ while in parallel, the Dean of Guild Court used its own powers to demolish other unsafe or unsanitary buildings lying outside the clearance areas.⁹ As the nineteenth century progressed there was an increasing worry that Edinburgh was losing its unique character and this led to a number of early preservation battles.¹⁰ However, in the face of the civic ambitions of the town council, the commercial ambitions of the railway companies and town proprietors, and the 'common-sense' of sanitary reform, victories by conservation-minded individuals or bodies were rare. In the mid-nineteenth century, the famous Edinburgh conservationist Lord Cockburn had recognized the difficulties of protecting the city's historic buildings:

The antiquarian soul sighs over their disappearance, and forgives nothing to modern necessities. Where they are private property, which no one will purchase to preserve, they must be dealt with according to the pleasure of the owner. Thus many interesting memorials perish, the extinction of which may be regretted, but can neither be blamed nor prevented. But public memorials ought never to be sacrificed without absolute necessity.¹¹

In the absence of urban heritage legislation, those seeking the preservation of occupied historic buildings and other urban historic features, such as town walls and gateways, therefore had to use the more general mechanisms available within civil society — personal and professional networks of power, persuasion, public meetings, press campaigns, and political and legal action.¹² Success was far from certain, however — even the Cockburn Association, an amenity body which had been created in 1875 specifically to preserve the city's beauty, struggled to make a difference in its early years.¹³

The Watson-Gordon Professor of Fine Art

When Baldwin Brown arrived as the Watson-Gordon Professor of Art History in 1880, therefore, there had been a prolonged period which had seen the loss of significant numbers of the city's historic buildings, major changes to the townscape, and repeated encroachments into the city's green spaces. It was also clear that the mechanisms available to preservationists were limited. Nonetheless, he quickly decided to involve himself in the city's preservation battles and to continue to do so for the next fifty years. So, why did he do this?

Baldwin Brown came from a highly principled, non-conformist family which had a long tradition of challenging the authorities of the day on issues of social and religious reform. Campaigning for the broader common good was an important part of the family's ethos and one which he was to readily adopt. The family also had a

broad interest in art and culture¹⁴ and, as a schoolchild at Uppingham in Rutland, Baldwin Brown had shown a strong interest in art and art history as well as the classics and languages. He also developed a broader interest in cultural history, becoming one of the first curators of the school's museum and exploring the buildings, monuments, and historic sites in the surrounding countryside with friend and fellow pupil, Hardwicke Rawnsley.¹⁵ At Oxford, Baldwin Brown pursued his interest in art and art history, benefitting from the presence of both John Ruskin and Walter Pater.¹⁶ Ruskin's influence was clear and Baldwin Brown became a strong supporter of the Arts and Crafts movement and its broader philosophy.¹⁷ Baldwin Brown's approach to art history was also influenced by nineteenth-century German art historians and he followed the cultural historian J. J. Winckelmann in adopting an archaeological perspective. Art, sculpture, and architecture were the products of society at a particular time and place and their study had the potential to shed broader light on that society.¹⁸ The breadth of Baldwin Brown's knowledge of cultural history was impressive. His university and extramural lectures in Edinburgh included not only the painting sculpture, and architecture of the classical civilizations but also ranged from biblical archaeology to the pre-Raphaelites, and from Vitruvius to Gottfried Semper.

Baldwin Brown was therefore unusually well placed to recognize the cultural value and importance of Edinburgh's built environment, to see its broader significance for Scotland's cultural history and identity, and to understand how campaigns for its preservation might be pursued. He did not focus solely on the neo-classical works of the creators of the 'Athens of the North', such as Robert Adam, Henry Playfair, and Archibald Elliot, however, but he equally stressed the importance of the city's surviving vernacular domestic buildings and other early structures.¹⁹ Over his time in Edinburgh, Baldwin Brown was to regularly initiate or join preservation campaigns in the city, writing to professional journals, to the press, to the town council, and to many other bodies, and he used his attendance at meetings, his frequent public lectures, and his academic publications to gather support. Recognizing that dry academic facts, esoteric arguments, and emotive language would be counter-productive, his arguments were always measured and carefully constructed to appeal to an interested but non-expert audience. He was clearly also conscious of the difficulties he might encounter as an Englishman commenting on Scottish culture and paid careful attention to the Scottish cultural and political context.²⁰ In pursuing his conservation goals, he also took advantage of the opportunities presented by his membership of a number of Edinburgh-based organizations and the networks of influence that these offered. At various times he was President of the Edinburgh Architectural Association, the Scottish Arts Club, and the Classical Association of Scotland, and was also at times the foreign correspondent of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and convenor of the Cockburn Association. He was also a long-term committee or council member of each of these organizations and a number of others, including the Old Edinburgh Club and the Edinburgh-based Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of Scotland (as it was originally called).²¹ In each case, he sought to influence their strategies and activities towards conservation objectives in the city.

Protecting the Old Town

Baldwin Brown's first foray into Edinburgh casework was in 1883, supporting a proposal by Lord Napier to restore the Great Hall at Edinburgh Castle. This building, created in the reign of James IV of Scotland, was by then in use as a military hospital. Baldwin Brown wrote:

The restoration of these buildings to something like their original condition is an object which it is worth making every effort to accomplish, and the difficulties in the way ought not to prove insuperable [...] Edinburgh Castle is one of the prides of Scotland, and a building of European fame. It is closely bound up with the national history, and possesses, besides, architectural beauties which need only the hand of a careful restorer, backed by the needful funds, to bring them again to the light of day.²²

He also sought to draw in the support of the city's architectural, art, and amenity bodies:

Cannot the public bodies of Edinburgh, antiquarian, historical, artistic, make their influence felt by passing resolutions urging the matter on the favourable considerations of Government. If the Town Council, ever zealous in good works will take the lead, the Society of Antiquaries, the Royal Scottish Academy, the Cockburn Society, the Architectural Association with other bodies, would provide a powerful weight of public opinion sufficient to start the movement.²³

He did not stop at letter writing, however. He was by then a council member of the Edinburgh Architectural Association, and a tour of the castle was rapidly arranged for its members, led by the highly-regarded Scottish architect and architectural historian, David MacGibbon. The purpose of the outing became clear when, on completion of the tour, Baldwin Brown proposed a carefully worded (and clearly pre-prepared) motion:

That the Edinburgh Architectural Association resolve to press upon the attention of Her Majesty's Government the present condition of the ancient hall to the Castle of Edinburgh, the associations connected with which, are of the deepest interest to all students of the national history, and to urge most strongly the importance of restoring the hall and other parts of the structure connected therewith to something like their original condition; and that it be remitted to the President and Council to prepare a memorial signed by the office bearers in the name of the Association for presentation to Government.²⁴

Meanwhile, the other Edinburgh bodies which Baldwin Brown had called to action also involved themselves energetically in the case,²⁵ and a prominent member of the Edinburgh Architectural Association and Liberal MP, John Dick Peddie, tabled a question about Edinburgh's Great Hall at Westminster. Baldwin Brown, with typically holistic vision, also saw an opportunity to strengthen the Scottish historical art movement and in a subsequent letter suggested that the restored Great Hall might be decorated with a series of mural paintings:

Subjects as suitable, and far more poetical, might be found in the legends and ballads of Scotland, which offer themes of inexhaustible beauty and interest. Inspired by the ballad literature of their country, by Burns, and by Sir Walter Scott, our artists might throw upon the walls their spell of a romantic past, and achieve results which might make the

restoration of Edinburgh Castle Hall the starting point in a new development of the national art.²⁶

However, an anonymous correspondent was quick to reply with views which would have met with the approval of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB):

I would be much disappointed, however, to see the suggestions of Professor Baldwin Brown carried out. I will make bold to say that were the opinions of the Antiquarian Society and the Architectural Association taken on the subject, their answer would be to the effect — 'Let it be restored as nearly as possible to its original condition [...]' The interest of such a building as the Castle Hall consists mainly in its associations with the past [...] it would certainly be a mistake to take from or add to the building, so as to in any way alter its original appearance or design.²⁷

The restoration of the Great Hall was eventually achieved (without murals) together with two other castle buildings, although one might question how closely the SPAB principles were followed in practice.²⁸ Baldwin Brown went on to involve himself in a number of other restoration cases in Edinburgh, his stated approach being to consider each case on its own merits. He objected to the proposed restoration of Holyrood Abbey in 1907,²⁹ for example, but in the 1920s he supported the controversial proposals for a Scottish National War Memorial building on the north side of Edinburgh Castle's Crown Square, arguing that it was justified as it would 'save the castle from becoming derelict and [...] give it a new and hallowed place in national life'.³⁰

More generally, throughout his time in Edinburgh, Baldwin Brown encouraged town councillors, building owners, and others to recognize the importance of the Old Town's ancient vernacular buildings:

the character of Old Edinburgh architecture depends, not on a few outstanding monuments, but on the noble blocks of our great 'lands', 'piled deep and massy, close and high' which, if not presenting what purists would call 'architecture', are so monumental in their masses, so effective in their grouping, so varied in their perspective views, at times so quaint and expressive in their details, that their aesthetic as well as their historical value is very great.³¹

He also frequently fought to prevent their demolition. We do not have space to discuss all of these cases here but one high-profile example, in 1911, was the proposed demolition of a group of vernacular buildings close to the entrance to the Palace of Holyrood House in order to make way for a King Edward VII memorial gateway. In the face of strong and emotive support for the Robert Lorimer scheme, Baldwin Brown pointed out that 'the removal of some old property' (as *The Scotsman* newspaper had described it) in reality involved the loss of 'one of the best preserved and most characteristic pieces of old Edinburgh domestic architecture of the suburban type now left to us'.³² Another site and architect was chosen for the gate and the buildings still remain today (Figure 2).³³

Another route to secure a building's preservation was to acquire its ownership and Baldwin Brown became closely involved in the creation and running of one of the city's earliest building trusts. This initiative was taken forward successfully in 1910



FIGURE 2 Vernacular buildings at the entrance to the Palace of Holyrood House. Photograph author's copyright.

by the Cockburn Association (Baldwin Brown sat on their council at the time) to secure the preservation of Moubray House, a sixteenth-century stone building on the Old Town's main street adjacent to the more famous John Knox's House (Figure 3).³⁴ His interests were broad and at other times he campaigned to stop the town council from renaming the city's historic streets and pointed out the importance of preserving inscribed lintels which were a particularly interesting and characterful feature of the Old Town's stone buildings.³⁵

Protecting the New Town

Baldwin Brown also recognized the importance of the architectural compositions that made up the New Town, including Charlotte Square, Robert Adam's 'grand finale of the First New Town'. By the time of Baldwin Brown's arrival in 1880 this palace-fronted square was only some sixty years old but three of its sides had already suffered from the introduction of dormer windows and other accretions. The north side (Figure 4) had remained intact but in 1889 a new owner of one of the properties commenced work on a new, large, and square attic storey. Baldwin Brown was quick to draw to public attention this 'serious injury', pointing out that the north side of Charlotte Square was designed to be seen as a single composition:

It ought to be well enough understood, at any rate by that class of citizen who are supposed to read and travel and to represent culture in our midst, that when a private house forms an integral part of a recognised and admired architectural composition, its proprietor is bound to respect the general scheme of the designer of the whole. His house is not his own to do what he pleases with, but he is under obligation to show piety for the past,

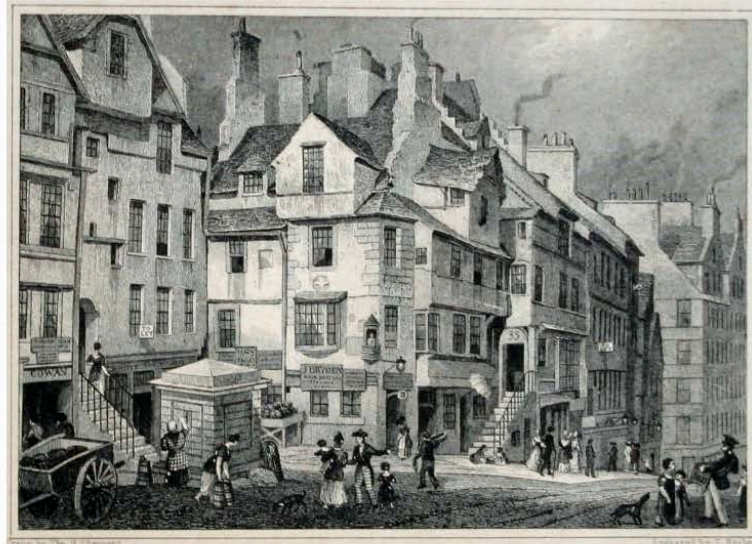


FIGURE 3 Moubray House with external stair (to the left) and John Knox's House (centre). Drawn by H Shepherd and is taken from *Modern Athens! Displayed in a Series of Views: Or Edinburgh in the Nineteenth Century* (London, Jones & Co, 1829).



FIGURE 4 North side of Robert Adam's Charlotte Square (the house in question lies to the left of the central portico). Photograph author's copyright.

and consideration for the feelings of his fellow townsmen. In this case Edinburgh is being distinctly robbed of an architectural beauty, while the Dean of Guild's Court has given neither aid nor warning, and the Cockburn Association watches from the further corner of the square, and makes no public sign.³⁶

To his surprise and evident dismay, Sir William Fettes Douglas, the fiery President of the Royal Scottish Academy, then mounted an extraordinary personal attack on the house-owner who, it turned out, was a newly appointed Edinburgh cleric! While continuing to oppose the changes, Baldwin Brown was quick to distance himself from this personal attack,³⁷ although he did see the opportunity to encourage a broader debate in the press about the city's 'architectural amenity', stressing the need for reasonableness in the face of some extreme views:

it is well to recognise the distinction between what is desirable but not practicable, and what we may not only wish for but are bound to secure. We can only carry the public along with us when we show that we make in the name of art no vague or extravagant claims, but desire only to enforce a practical point. It would, no doubt, be highly desirable to veto all tasteless buildings, and all changes that would interfere in any way with the amenity of our beautiful city; but we cannot hope to effect this in any absolute manner by enactment.³⁸

One focus of the ensuing debate was whether there were different considerations for publicly-owned and private buildings. However, Baldwin Brown knew that much of the city's historic building stock was in private hands and challenged the strongly-held view that private owners should be able to do as they pleased in all cases:

The northern block in Charlotte Square is, in a sense, as much a public possession as the Register House, though it happens to be made up of private dwellings. If the owners of these desire to exercise proprietary rights over their portions of the structure, and if their action involves, as is the present case, a serious damage to the general architectural effect, then civic authority should certainly interpose.³⁹

He also sought to encourage the Dean of Guild and the Town Council to intervene but, as he rapidly came to recognize, the Dean of Guild's powers were limited to issues such as building safety and encroachments and the Town Council's powers were also limited unless they were the building owner or could bring other influence to bear. It is not clear if the work was completed, but we do know that the Marquess of Bute removed the attic windows from his own and neighbouring houses on the north side of the Square in the 1930s.⁴⁰ One can only wonder what impact this extraordinary and heated public debate had on the aspirations of other building owners in the square.

Baldwin Brown was to return to the preservation of Charlotte Square in 1897 when proposals came forward to demolish the majority of the north side to provide a site for the new Usher Hall. In a succinct and (under the circumstances) rather restrained letter, he pointed out that the proposals 'should not be persisted in' because they did not meet one of the principles of site selection: that the site should not require the effacement of any cherished and characteristic feature of the city. He also took the opportunity to include a marvellously nuanced comment on the likely quality of any new building:

Charlotte Square as it stands is a complete architectural composition known far and wide as one of the best existing specimens of its style, and is, moreover, carried out with such material and workmanship that it would be simply a shame to pull down a great part of it for the sake of replacing it by a building that may be in quite a different style, and may, after all, not have the artistic merits that we all hope and trust will belong to it.⁴¹

The Usher Hall was eventually constructed, but on a less sensitive site further to the south.⁴²

Baldwin Brown continued to interest himself in development proposals which would affect the New Town architecture. He also strongly resisted the steady municipalization of its formal gardens, objecting to what he believed were inappropriate proposals for new statues, footpaths, terraces, paths, and steps. He argued successfully in 1911, for example, against the introduction of a modern monument in one of the corners of the garden in Charlotte Square, recognizing both the impact that this would have on the overall harmony of the square and also the likelihood that, if this one were allowed to go ahead, the other three corners would eventually succumb to similar proposals.⁴³ Objecting to commemorative memorials, improved public access, and better recreation facilities, however, was always likely to be a difficult matter on which to gain public support and many of the larger gardens, such as those in the valley adjacent to Princes Street, would suffer from gradual accretions. Baldwin Brown was also an active campaigner against damage to the visual appearance of the New Town caused by other developments, such as the erection of the lines and poles necessary for electrification of the city's trams,⁴⁴ and he also objected to the unlikely proposals before the Town Council in 1894 to run 'some sort of railway line up Arthur's Seat'. Transport improvements were to be a continuing issue in Edinburgh, however, and it was the ever-present threat from the powerful railway companies which was to present Baldwin Brown with some of his most difficult challenges.

The railways in Edinburgh

The best illustration of Baldwin Brown's extraordinary tenacity relates to the series of proposed railway improvements brought forward by the Caledonian Railway Company (CRC) and the North British Railway (NBR) in the 1890s. While the NBR owned a well-placed station (now Edinburgh Waverley Station) in the central valley and had an effective route to the rapidly expanding Leith Docks, the CRC had to make do with stations on the west side of the city and an extremely difficult route to Leith. To improve its situation, in 1890 the CRC proposed to extend its line eastwards across the centre of the city by running it underground along the entire length of the New Town's Princes Street. There was to be a new combined underground and overground station at the entrance to Waterloo Place (the New Town's grand classical eastern approach completed by Archibald Elliot in 1819, see Figure 5) and the line would then turn northwards under the centre of Calton Hill, emerging on its north slopes and proceeding onwards on a high viaduct. The level of destruction of Edinburgh's classical compositions and their settings would have been extraordinary since the scheme included the demolition of parts of the early nineteenth-century Rutland Square and Rutland Street on the west side of the New Town, a cut-and-cover tunnel along Princes Street together with ventilation shafts, the demolition of a number of



FIGURE 5 Archibald Elliot's Waterloo Place looking eastwards. Source: *Picturesque Views of Edinburgh; The Drawings by J. Ewbank engraved by W.H. Lizars* (Edinburgh, Daniel Lizars, 1825).

key buildings in Waterloo Place, including the Regent's Bridge, and the demolition of part of Playfair's Royal Terrace on the north side of Calton Hill.

Baldwin Brown had previously drawn attention to the architectural importance of Waterloo Place. His unusually strong letter to the Council (and the applause it was given when read out at the Council meeting) was reported in the press:

If this, he wrote, should involve any tampering with the elevation of buildings flanking the entrance to Waterloo Place, and forming at the same time the termination of the long vista of Princes Street, an injury of the grossest kind would be done to one of the best architectural features of the city. Any such wanton destruction as might possibly be entailed should the scheme pass without proper safeguard would, he ventured to think, a blot upon the reputation of the city for piety and good taste, and would be remembered against the citizens for evil by future generations. Professor Baldwin Brown also alluded to the grievous injury threatened to the beautiful northern slopes of the Calton Hill facing Hillside Crescent, where again there was that happy combination of good architecture with fine natural features for which Edinburgh was widely and justly famous.⁴⁵

Despite this and many other objections, the CRC nonetheless pursued its scheme. In April 1890 Baldwin Brown decided to switch his attack to the financial and reputational damage that would be caused:

it was his opinion [...] that if they injured the natural and architectural features of Edinburgh they would injure what the inhabitants held most precious. He had heard the late Sir George Harrison, who was a wise and patriotic citizen [...] say 'To Edinburgh

her face is her fortune'. It was that which made Edinburgh a centre of attraction to tourists and strangers from all parts of the world, and he [...] considered if that was interfered with, the prosperity of Edinburgh would be spoilt, inasmuch as a lesser number of visitors would be drawn to the city.⁴⁶

However, the meeting was hijacked by railway supporters who carried a motion condemning the Town Council's opposition to the proposals, calling on the three ward representatives of the Town Council to support the scheme. This battle rapidly became one of 'public convenience' versus 'amenity' and, in October, Baldwin Brown wrote again to the press:

I venture to urge that it does not necessarily follow that 'amenity' should give way. To take an extreme instance, it would undoubtedly be for the 'public convenience' of Londoners to remove St Paul's Cathedral, which at present blocks the most important line of thoroughfare from the West End to the City, but no one would propose on this plea to demolish Wren's masterpiece. In the same way it ought to be held impossible to scar and mutilate the most beautiful and characteristic parts of Edinburgh. The proposal to tunnel under Princes St or through the gardens is a preposterous proposal [...]. To allow it would be to risk making ourselves a laughingstock to a good part of Europe and America. What would the outsider say? He would tell us: You have got one of the best streets in the world, which strangers come from all parts to see and enjoy, and here you are prepared first of all to hand it over for years to the navy, and then risk making it almost uninhabitable with blew-holes by day — which would soon make their appearance — and goods trains by night — for these would not be far behind.⁴⁷

The railway schemes became the key issue for the municipal elections at the end of 1890. Baldwin Brown felt so strongly about matters that he decided (or was persuaded) to stand for election in the city's St Giles Ward as an anti-railway candidate. One of his proposers was the scientist and social reformer, Patrick Geddes, who was also actively preserving and re-using the city's vernacular Old Town buildings at that time.⁴⁸ Following a difficult campaign in which 'the wire-pullers, the logrollers, and the rag-tag and bobtail were marshalled against him', Baldwin Brown attracted 893 votes while his railway-supporting opponent gained a majority of 267.⁴⁹

To make matters worse, the NBR was pursuing proposals to expand its station in the Waverley valley, doubling the number of lines and creating a major goods yard. This would mean the loss of the eastern half of the valley and the public gardens in their entirety. Following heated meetings, the Town Council resolved to object to the NBR's Act of Parliament with Baldwin Brown appearing as one of their key witnesses at the Parliamentary Select Committee (which was considering both the CRC and NBR proposals).⁵⁰ The Committee subsequently approved parts of the CRC proposals but without the Princes Street tunnel and this was enough for the whole scheme to be abandoned. However, the Committee did approve the NBR scheme including both the new lines and the expansion of Waverley Station, although the latter was to take place along the valley to the east, using the site of an existing gasworks. Matters appeared to be at a close, but the NBR knew that it would be cheaper and quicker to expand the station into the public gardens immediately to the west of the existing station. In a surprising about-face the Council agreed to release the gardens and the NBR took the opportunity to add a very large railway turntable to its proposals.

Having lost in a municipal election, been grilled by a parliamentary select committee, suffered criticism and personal insult from railway supporters, and then watched the Council abandon its opposition, it would have been understandable if Baldwin Brown had decided to retire from the field of battle. Instead, he launched a further public campaign. At a meeting in May 1891 he was joined on the stage by, among others, the fiery Sir William Fettes Douglas, James Bruce (a former president of the Edinburgh Architectural Association), and Miss Sarah Mair, an energetic campaigner for the women's education movement.⁵¹ Once again there was opposition from the Edinburgh traders, but a motion against the proposed further encroachments on the gardens was passed. The following day the usually supportive *Scotsman* newspaper changed its views and roundly criticised Baldwin Brown and his colleagues, accusing them of pursuing an 'aesthetic fad' and of being merely 'a sectional gathering, with which the town had little sympathy'.⁵² Baldwin Brown responded:

We cannot now get the railway out of the valley, but let us, in the name of common sense, as well as of amenity, keep them to that part of it where they can obtain all they can reasonably demand without fresh injury to those Gardens on which the public of Edinburgh feels just as strongly as it feels about Princes' St itself.⁵³

Following further attacks in the press, he wrote again:

the city does not belong to the Town Council, but to the citizens, and it is their duty to look themselves after their property. At a crisis like this we have not to think of the past but of the future. Let us bear in mind that we are not contending only with a Scottish Railway Company that might be expected to share some feelings of patriotism, but with the great English companies, who have no sort of care for the interests of Edinburgh, and think only of through traffic to the north. It is for the convenience of this through traffic, from which Edinburgh derives no benefit, that the monstrous proposals of the North British in regard to the East Princes' Street Gardens have been made and are maintained.⁵⁴

The battles and negotiations continued, but to cut a long story short, in July 1891 matters were settled by a Commons Select Committee which suggested that the objectors had been sentimental and to a degree had exaggerated. A second pair of railway lines were allowed to be run across the valley. However, the objectors claimed a partial victory in that the Committee placed very significant restrictions on any other expansion into the gardens and threw out the proposed turntable entirely (Figure 6).⁵⁵

The care of historical cities and the care of ancient monuments

Baldwin Brown's conservation battles in Edinburgh provide an informative context for *The Care of Ancient Monuments*. As a cultural historian, he readily recognized and promoted the importance of the city's buildings and monuments. However, excepting a small number of 'iconic' buildings, such as the Castle and the Palace of Holyrood House, the idea that other buildings were not just of historic value in their own right, but this consideration might override commercial desires, the rights of private owners, or public convenience, was a battle that was proving hard to win.



FIGURE 6 Waverley Station looking northeast; the area of gardens visible would have been lost under the North British Railway proposals. Photograph author's copyright.

The long-lived demonization of the Old Town's vernacular buildings as part of the rhetoric surrounding the city's on-going sanitary improvements was also a powerful force and demolitions across the Old Town continued.

It is no coincidence that, shortly after Baldwin Brown was elected to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland's council in 1903, its members met to discuss the disappearance of the city's older domestic buildings and created a sub-committee to work with a Cockburn Association sub-committee with regard to 'the possibility of saving the remaining parts of older portions of the Old Town'. The starting point was to be a report on the regulation in force on the Continent and America.⁵⁶ This had all the hallmarks of another Baldwin Brown choreographed initiative — he sat on the councils of both organizations at the time — and, as a regular European traveller with a wide range of contacts and the requisite language skills, it was Baldwin Brown who, in the summer of 1903, collected 'a great mass of materials from all over the Continent' and prepared a booklet entitled *The Care of Historical Cities*.⁵⁷ This was a curious report in that, while it contained a long description of protective measures across Europe, it did not include substantive recommendations. It was clearly intended to be used as one element of a wider initiative and the report's prefatory note sheds some light on this. Referring to the two sub-committees, it noted that:

Since the formation of these committees the Town Council of Edinburgh has taken into consideration a proposal to make an inventory of the older Edinburgh Houses of artistic or historic interest. Such an inventory is the necessary first step towards any measures for

preservation, like those in force in certain foreign cities, and it is confidently to be hoped that this timely proposal will issue in protective action for which future generations of Edinburgh citizens will long be grateful.⁵⁸

The Town Council, however, appeared to be dragging its feet on what Baldwin Brown had termed 'this patriotic resolve', recognizing perhaps the difficulties that such a list might cause. A preliminary list of important buildings on the main street of the Old Town had already been prepared by the antiquarian and artist Bruce J. Home in 1902 and in 1905 he also produced the first part of what was to become a volume of drawings of Old Edinburgh vernacular buildings — dedicated to the Lord Provost and the Council. Its introduction, written by Baldwin Brown, suggested that Bruce Home was 'offering most effective aid to those who are desirous that the city should not lightly part with what remains of her monumental heritage from the past'.⁵⁹ This list was updated in 1908 and also appeared with an accompanying map the following year in the first volume of papers produced by the newly formed Old Edinburgh Club together with a scathing criticism of the town council.⁶⁰ However, the power that such a list and drawings might have in protecting the Old Town buildings was substantially weakened both by the council's reluctance to introduce any policy framework within which it might take effect and the fact that the list ignored buildings lying beyond the main street.⁶¹

Following the publication of *The Care of Historical Cities*, Baldwin Brown gave a series of talks on Edinburgh's Old Town, drawing on the information he had gathered from Europe to support his case for its protection.⁶² In a slightly later article (published in 1906), he provided a thinly disguised description both of his own motivations and his experiences:

the destruction or degradation of an ancient monument is an absolutely irrevocable act, that we may prevent but cannot recall. Unless we interfere in time it is no use our interfering at all. If through the negligence of ourselves and our contemporaries these monuments be suffered to come to harm, there is no place for repentance. Ceaseless vigilance is the only safeguard, and many a patriotic defender of these treasures, wearied out with newspaper controversy, with interviewing town councillors, memorialising public bodies, and getting questions asked in the House of Commons, has been inspired to fresh efforts by the sense that if he and his fellow workers fail to avert the threatened ill, there is no second line of defence, and the harm done will be done for ever.⁶³

He knew of course that the experiences he had encountered in Edinburgh were shared by others working to protect historic sites and buildings elsewhere in Britain⁶⁴ and he decided to use *The Care of Historical Cities* research as the starting point for a far more ambitious book, *The Care of Ancient Monuments*, written with the protection of Britain's wider heritage in mind. This was to be aimed not at the town council in Edinburgh but at the UK government in London.⁶⁵ One reason for this change in target was clear — Baldwin Brown's ever-growing frustration with local government:

The town councillor is a representative of the public, and it is useless to expect from the average councillor any greater sensitiveness in this regard than is shown by the members of the public at large. We may expect from him a feeling of responsibility for the interests in his charge, which may keep him benevolently neutral in his attitude to a portion of the civic assets that can never be increased; but of active care for the monuments of the past he will only show as much as he thinks public opinion demands.⁶⁶

Unlike the earlier booklet, he included a detailed discussion of 'monuments' and their management, setting out to define key terms, outlining a philosophical framework to justify the case for preservation (anticipating and provided arguments to refute the most likely area of objection), and exploring the beneficial role that buildings and monuments might play for government and broader society. He also took the opportunity to expand the earlier information about the protective systems in use in Europe. The overarching message of the book was clear — Britain, a modern and forward-looking nation but one nonetheless proud of its long history and traditions, had fallen woefully behind other nations in valuing and protecting its past. Baldwin Brown's solution included the establishment of a principle that private or corporate property may be expropriated on aesthetic or historical grounds, the appointment of a Royal Commission to undertake 'inventorization', and the strengthening of the existing protective legislation.⁶⁷ While of far broader relevance, it should be clear that each of these responded to issues he had personally encountered while pursuing preservation in Edinburgh.

As with the earlier booklet, Baldwin Brown went on to write and present a series of papers and lectures in order to bring his arguments to wider professional and public audiences. These included both the International Congress of Architects, held in London in 1906, and the Royal Institute of British Architects Town Planning Conference held in 1910. The latter was of particular significance. Having seen the impact of improvement schemes in Edinburgh,⁶⁸ he readily recognized difficulties that the new town planning legislation of 1909 (and in particular the 'town schemes' which it introduced) might cause for historic buildings and other urban features. His paper on town planning was prescient in anticipating the later criticisms of 'scientific' town planning and its threat to the broader social value that the historic environment might offer to society:

We must hold up our end against the doctrinaire with his clean slate and paper projects, and must plead in our urban schemes for the grace of variety, for the interest of historical associations, for the value in modern life of those monuments of the art of the past, which have not only an aesthetic charm hard to compass in modern work but are centres round which the national and civic patriotism of the young may be taught to grow.⁶⁹

At first sight it is perhaps surprising that, despite his highly relevant knowledge and expertise, Baldwin Brown was not called to give evidence to the 1912 Joint Parliamentary Select Committee (which led to the improved Ancient Monuments legislation of 1913).⁷⁰ It seems possible, however, that he was deliberately overlooked. Both the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Works, Sir Schomberg McDonnell, and his Inspector of Ancient Monuments, Charles Reed Peers, were strongly opposed to the inclusion of occupied buildings within the draft legislation. They believed, probably correctly, that such a step would lead to the draft legislation as a whole failing to progress through Parliament. They therefore opposed any move in this direction. They directly challenged the arguments developed by Baldwin Brown which used European exemplars to support stronger controls on occupied buildings:

[M]ay I say one word about foreign laws upon the subject? I read the laws which obtain in other countries with considerable care about six years ago, and again last month, and I was struck by the fact that they were wholly inapplicable to this country. People in

Great Britain will not stand too much control; it is entirely foreign to their nature; they are not going to be inspected and harassed and worried in every kind of way. Gentlemen, do not let us attempt it. Let everybody who is drafting a Bill of that kind remember the hackneyed phrase that Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Welshmen all regard their houses as their castles, though I must say that I have some doubt whether they should regard their castles as their houses, especially if they are in ruins.⁷¹

No doubt the straight-talking and persuasive Baldwin Brown would have been seen as an unhelpful witness by McDonnell and Peers and, more generally, there does appear to have been a careful choice of witnesses for the Select Committee to reduce the likelihood of occupied buildings becoming an issue. Baldwin Brown was also omitted from consideration as a member of one of the Ancient Monuments Boards, created under the 1913 Act.⁷²

One of the recommendations in *The Care of Ancient Monuments* did find a more sympathetic ear elsewhere, however. After publication, Baldwin Brown was invited to a private meeting with the Scottish Secretary, Lord Pentland, to discuss his proposals for the creation of an inventorization body.⁷³ Pentland's enthusiasm was no doubt due to his broader interest in promoting Scottish national identity and he went on to establish the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of Scotland in 1908 — a body on which Baldwin Brown was to serve as a Commissioner until his death in 1932.⁷⁴ Here Baldwin Brown found a new base from which to pursue the protection of Edinburgh and in particular the creation of a comprehensive inventory for the city (and for the other Scottish Royal Burghs). There was positive progress in the Commission's early years, but Lord Pentland rapidly became frustrated by what he perceived to be the Commission's slow progress with the Treasury becoming increasingly unwilling to fund the preparation of urban inventories beyond the broader county-based surveys. In 1911 the work on Scottish urban inventories was called to a halt with the exception of Edinburgh and Leith. This moved forward under Baldwin Brown and his fellow Commissioners Thomas Ross and William Oldrieve,⁷⁵ but the funding restrictions meant that progress was inevitably slow. When, in 1927, the decision was taken to separate Edinburgh from the Midlothian volume (which was approaching publication), the battle for the Edinburgh inventory was essentially lost.⁷⁶ It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that, but for the lack of modest support from central government (and the intervention of World War I), Scotland would have had Burgh inventories in place by the close of the second decade of the twentieth century and Baldwin Brown, together with Thomas Ross and William Oldrieve, would have been regarded as the founders of modern listing in Scotland. Instead, this accolade was to fall to the Fourth Marquess of Bute and Ian G. Lindsay — but very many important Scottish buildings were lost in the intervening period.⁷⁷

Conclusions

Baldwin Brown's casework activities in Edinburgh demonstrate his long-term project to broaden the accepted definition of the city's historic environment and to promote its broader value. In this he acted with, and was supported by, other committed conservationists but it was Baldwin Brown who frequently appeared as the spokesperson and where necessary he would act alone. Importantly, he sought not just to raise the

visibility of domestic urban vernacular buildings but to establish that they were deserving of preservation on both historical and aesthetic grounds. He undoubtedly developed the existing urban heritage discourse within Edinburgh — to embrace ‘ordinary dwelling houses’ and groupings along the lines envisaged by John Ruskin in 1880⁷⁸ — but he was also an early defender of the buildings and architectural compositions of the New Town, while recognizing the importance of the open spaces both as part of the overall architectural composition and in terms of visual setting.

His approach to assessing significance, the arguments he used for preservation, the language he adopted in presenting his cases, his recognition of the need to situate the historic environment carefully in terms of public sympathy and identity, his understanding of the infrastructure necessary for effective cultural resource management, and, above all, his recognition of the potential of the historic environment for broader societal good, anticipated many of our current systems and approaches to cultural resource management in Britain today. However, despite receiving a range of academic awards and distinctions for his study of Anglo-Saxon art and culture, the importance of Baldwin Brown’s conservation work in Edinburgh and more broadly received little formal recognition at the time or subsequently. Indeed, there is evidence to suggest that his persistent and principled campaigning damaged his reputation in some quarters of the city and he was also seen as too radical by the civil servants in London who saw cautious progress as the order of the day. However, when one looks at both the nature and scope of Baldwin Brown’s activities in Edinburgh — and it has not been possible to do full justice to these here — a strong argument can be made that he should be recognized alongside Lord Cockburn, Daniel Wilson, Patrick Geddes, and the Fourth Marquess of Bute for his sustained commitment to the preservation of Edinburgh’s historic environment. While this paper has focused on Edinburgh, he was also active and influential across Britain more widely, and the broader recognition that Baldwin Brown was one of the most articulate, active, and committed conservationists in Britain is long overdue.

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Notes

- ¹ David Wilson noted that Baldwin Brown's *The Arts in Early England* had been the 'cornerstone of the study of Anglo-Saxon archaeology', *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 1; while Eric Fernie has observed that Baldwin Brown's treatment of Anglo-Saxon architecture in the series 'is still the only treatment of the subject to combine attention to detail with an attempt to see it as a whole'; *The Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons* (London: Batsford, 1983), p. 8.
- ² For the most recent assessment of Baldwin Brown's work, see David Breeze, 'Gerard Baldwin Brown (1849–1932): The Recording and Preservation of Monuments', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 131 (2001), 41–55.
- ³ Melanie Hall has drawn attention to the importance of Baldwin Brown's work in Edinburgh. See 'Affirming Community Life: Preservation, National Identity and the State', in *From William Morris: Building Conservation and the Arts and Craft Cult of Authenticity, 1877–1939*, ed. by C. Miele (London: Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 129–57.
- ⁴ See, for example, Francoise Choay, *The Invention of the Historic Monument* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), particularly Chapter 6; also, Loes Veldpaus, A. R. Pereira Roders, and B. J. F. Colenbrander, 'Urban Heritage: Putting the Past into the Future', *The Historic Environment: Policy and Practice*, 4.1 (2013), 3–13.
- ⁵ It is not possible within the confines of this paper to set out a detailed topographical and chronological history of the development of Edinburgh. A valuable recent discussion can be found in *Edinburgh: The Making of a Capital City*, ed. by Brian Edwards and Paul Jenkins (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005).
- ⁶ Following the creation of the original New Town to James Craig's plans of 1767 there were a number of planned expansions over the following century. See A. J. Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1966).
- ⁷ Jim Johnson and Lou Rosenberg, *Renewing Old Edinburgh: The Enduring Legacy of Patrick Geddes* (Glendaruel: Argyll Publishing, 2010), p. 40. The authors accept that 3,000 properties were 'derelict' but this is questionable.
- ⁸ The Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes, Vol. V, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, and Index as to Scotland (1885), para. 18,706 (London: HMSO 1885).
- ⁹ Originally a medieval guild, it became the precursor to the later planning authority, drawing on powers granted under various Police Acts.
- ¹⁰ The most well known of these related to the mid-nineteenth-century demolition of the fifteenth-century Trinity College Church and Hospital (a royal foundation) to allow the railway expansion in the central valley in the mid-nineteenth century. This was a key event for Daniel Wilson at the Society of Antiquaries, and for Lord Cockburn.
- ¹¹ *Journal of Henry Cockburn, 1831–1854* (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1874), volume II, 315–338.
- ¹² See, for example, *Cities of Ideas: Civil Society and Urban Governance in Britain 1800–2000*, ed. by Robert Colls and Richard Rodger (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 1–2.
- ¹³ Its other aim was the promotion of recreation for the city's residents. A strong focus in its early years was the protection of green spaces and trees.
- ¹⁴ For more information about Baldwin Brown's family, see Malcolm A. Cooper, 'Ettie and Maude', *Ruskin Review and Bulletin*, Winter (2013), forthcoming.
- ¹⁵ Rawnsley went on to become one of the founders of the National Trust. Baldwin Brown became a member of the Trust's council in 1896 due to his friendship with Rawnsley and he later dedicated *The Care of Ancient Monuments* to Rawnsley, 'in remembrance of life-long friendship'.
- ¹⁶ Baldwin Brown won the Chancellor's English Essay Prize at Oxford in 1874 for his paper on art history. For more information about Baldwin Brown's connection to John Ruskin, see Cooper.
- ¹⁷ Elisabeth Cumming has explored Baldwin Brown's involvement in the Arts and Crafts movement in Edinburgh in *Hand, Heart and Soul: The Arts and Crafts Movement in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2006).
- ¹⁸ Although Baldwin Brown avoided cultural determinism by recognizing, as Gottfried Semper did, that there was also 'artistic genius' which stood outside this.

- ²⁹ The mid-century publication of Robert Billing's *Baronial and Ecclesiastic Architecture of Scotland* encouraged the recognition that a Scottish architectural style of national cultural significance existed. Somewhat ironically, however, rather than stemming the demolition of the city's vernacular architecture, it simply encouraged its replacement by buildings designed in a Scots Baronial style.
- ³⁰ For a broader discussion of the emerging Scottish identity in relation to its urban historic environment see Graeme Morton, *Unionist Nationalist* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1999); and Frank Walker, 'National Romanticism and the Architecture of the City', in *Perspectives of the Scottish City*, ed. by George Gordon (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1985), pp. 125–59.
- ³¹ As is well known, one of the outcomes of *The Care of Ancient Monuments* was the creation of the Royal Commission in Scotland. See John Dunbar, 'The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland: The First Eighty Years', *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society*, 36 (1992), 1–58. It is frequently overlooked that Baldwin Brown not only became a founding Commissioner in Scotland but remained one until his death in 1932, committing a significant amount of time and energy to support the staff in their survey and publication work.
- ³² *Scotsman*, 18 December 1883.
- ³³ *Scotsman*, 18 December 1883.
- ³⁴ *Scotsman*, 18 February 1884.
- ³⁵ Baldwin Brown appears also to have been working behind the scenes with these other bodies to encourage them to adopt a similar motion. The Cockburn Association both visited and wrote to the Secretary of State for War and noted that it had also discussed the matters with the Royal Scottish Academy.
- ³⁶ *Scotsman*, 9 April 1884. Although the link has not previously been made, it was not long after this suggestion was rejected for the Great Hall that a major historical mural scheme, created by the artist William Hole, was taken forward as an integral part of Robert Rowand Anderson's Scottish National Portrait Gallery in Edinburgh. See D. Thompson, *A History of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery* (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 2011).
- ³⁷ *Scotsman*, 10 April 1884.
- ³⁸ See, R. J. Morris, 'The Capitalist, the Professor and the Soldier: The Re-making of Edinburgh Castle, 1850–1900', *Planning Perspectives*, 22 (2007), 55–78.
- ³⁹ Baldwin Brown suggested a compromise at Holyrood but the proposals were eventually abandoned with the *British Architect* in 1907 singling out Baldwin Brown and two other key objectors as being the prophets of a 'sickly sentimentalism' and guilty of 'unmitigated cant' (*British Architect*, February 15, 1907, p. 108).
- ⁴⁰ *Scotsman*, 16 August 1920. This Robert Lorimer scheme, which partially re-used an existing barrack block, was eventually approved by the Ancient Monuments Board for Scotland.
- ⁴¹ *Scotsman*, 12 January 1920. Scottish stone tenement buildings were referred to as 'Lands'. The 'deep and massy' phrase was taken from Sir Walter Scott.
- ⁴² *Scotsman*, 25 January 1911.
- ⁴³ Lord Rosebury was subsequently persuaded by Baldwin Brown's friend, Patrick Geddes, to purchase these buildings to secure their long-term future.
- ⁴⁴ Baldwin Brown was already a council member of the Cockburn Association and became a Trustee of the Mowbray House Trust in 1910. It seems likely that the creation and running of the Trust would have benefitted from the knowledge Baldwin Brown would have gained as a National Trust Council member. John Knox's House had been the subject of an earlier preservation campaign in 1849.
- ⁴⁵ *Scotsman*, 16 July 1914 and 10 December 1915.
- ⁴⁶ *Scotsman*, 22 April 1889.
- ⁴⁷ 'I deprecate in the strongest manner the introduction of names and personal references, from either side, into what is essentially a public matter'. *Scotsman*, 4 May 1889.
- ⁴⁸ *Scotsman*, 29 April 1889.
- ⁴⁹ *Scotsman*, 29 April 1889. Register House, Edinburgh's publicly funded public record office designed by Robert Adam, had itself been the subject of a series of conservation battles. See J. E. Cookson, 'The Row over the "Screen Wall" of General Register House in 1849', *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, new ser., 9 (2012), 87–103.
- ⁵⁰ RCAHMS, MS/630/227.
- ⁵¹ *Scotsman*, 16 March 1897.
- ⁵² Surprisingly, Baldwin Brown supported a 'compromise' site which would have led to the demolition of part of the neoclassical crescent at Atholl Crescent in the city's West End, but due to further protest, this site too was abandoned.
- ⁵³ *Scotsman*, 12 June 1911.
- ⁵⁴ The Cockburn Association was also particularly active in opposing these.
- ⁵⁵ *Scotsman*, 22 February 1890.
- ⁵⁶ *Scotsman*, 18 April 1890. Baldwin Brown's speech was given to a meeting of the St Giles Ward residents.
- ⁵⁷ *Scotsman*, 3 November 1890. It is probable that Baldwin Brown deliberately (and unusually) selected an English example of St Paul's Cathedral to appeal to those who saw Edinburgh as a capital city of equal importance to London. It is more likely, however, that he believed the strength of support for the proposals locally meant he needed to enlist the support of English colleagues and organizations to oppose the scheme. Among others, he drew on the support of the National Association for the Advancement of Art.

- ⁴⁸ See Johnson and Rosenberg. Baldwin Brown and his wife worked closely with Geddes in the Edinburgh Social Union, providing a range of art training for Edinburgh workers and encouraging local artists such as Phoebe Traquair. See E. Cumming. In the 1890s Baldwin Brown had praised Geddes' work in refurbishing historic buildings in the Old Town. They exchanged letters on a variety of subjects and, although currently unrecognized by Geddes scholars, it seems highly likely that Baldwin Brown influenced Geddes' thinking on the importance of vernacular historic buildings and the fine arts more broadly.
- ⁴⁹ *Scotsman*, 5 November 1890.
- ⁵⁰ This must have been a painful episode for Baldwin Brown, as great play was made by supporters of the railway scheme that he had stood as a candidate in the municipal elections on an anti-railway stance and had lost.
- ⁵¹ Mair was representing 'the ladies of Edinburgh'. Baldwin Brown was highly active in supporting the Women's Education Movement and she was a one-time student. See Leah Leneman, *The Scottish Suffragettes* (Edinburgh: National Museums Scotland, 2000), pp. 22–24.
- ⁵² *Scotsman*, 5 May 1891.
- ⁵³ *Scotsman*, 7 May 1891.
- ⁵⁴ *Scotsman*, 28 May 1891.
- ⁵⁵ Objections from the Bank of Scotland, whose head office overlooked the site of the proposed turntable, undoubtedly helped the objectors. The Select Committee also recommended the demolition and replacement of the historic North Bridge to give the NBR a more flexible site. The Town Council arranged a major civic ceremony for the laying of the new bridge's foundation stone in 1796 and published a lavish book to celebrate the occasion. Interestingly, Baldwin Brown does not appear to have attended the various civic ceremonies and receptions.
- ⁵⁶ Cockburn Association Minute Book, 24 November 1904.
- ⁵⁷ It is commonly, but incorrectly, asserted that Baldwin Brown used the government official reports (the so-called 'Blue Books') for the information he produced in this booklet and *The Care of Ancient Monuments* on the protective systems in place in Europe. However, he corrected this misapprehension in a slightly terse letter to the *Times Literary Supplement* published on 2 March 1906. He stressed that the Blue Books were out-of-date and that his sources, drawn from personal contacts and various published documents, were clearly identified in the 1905 book's preface and bibliography. (The letter was in response to a review which had appeared in the TLS on 23 February 1906, issue 215. P. 59. Baldwin Brown's letter was published in TLS, 2 March 1906, Issue 216, p. 74.)
- ⁵⁸ Gerard Baldwin Brown, *The Care of Historical Cities* (Edinburgh: Darien Press, 1904). In the discussions, the Antiquarians would no doubt have called attention to David Murray's *An Archaeological Survey of the United Kingdom: The Preservation and Protection of Our Ancient Monuments* (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1896), which contained a chapter on the protection of monuments in other countries. Baldwin Brown was a strong supporter of the preparation of inventories for urban areas and in the early days of the Royal Commission in Scotland he encouraged the idea that they should invite a number of Scottish Royal Burghs to compile such lists.
- ⁵⁹ Introduction in J. Bruce Home, *Old Houses in Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: William J. Hay, 1905/07), p. 2.
- ⁶⁰ For the origins of listing in Scotland, see David M. Walker, 'Listing in Scotland: Origins, Survey and Resurvey', *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society*, 38 (1994), 31–96. Although Walker places the origins of listing with the work by the Fourth Marquess of Bute and the National Trust in the 1930s, a strong case can be made that it lies with the work of Home and Baldwin Brown in Edinburgh in the first decade of the twentieth century.
- ⁶¹ Bruce J. Home, 'Provisional List of Old Houses Remaining in High Street and Canongate of Edinburgh', *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, 1 (1908), 1–30. The Council did argue that it was sensitive to the city's historic buildings while in fact continuing to demolish them.
- ⁶² See, for example, his letter in *The Times*, 25 October 1904.
- ⁶³ Gerard Baldwin Brown, 'Our Ancient Monuments and Their Place in Modern Life', *Saint George*, 9.35 (July 1906), 185–86. This article was published shortly after Baldwin Brown published *The Care of Ancient Monuments* and provides important background information to Baldwin Brown's view at this time.
- ⁶⁴ Baldwin Brown had involved himself in campaigns elsewhere in Britain (and occasionally in Europe). These included opposing demolitions in Berwick and Newcastle, supporting his friend Rawnsley's conservation campaigns in the Lake District, and seeking to preserve Crosby Hall in London. See, for example, his letter headed 'Threatened Demolition of Ancient Monuments' in *The Times* on 27 December 1904.
- ⁶⁵ The change of the main title from '*The Care of Historical Cities*' to '*The Care of Ancient Monuments*' reflected Baldwin Brown's desire to broaden the discussion to include the protection of the wider historic environment in Britain. As a result, however, the book has incorrectly been seen as being solely about archaeological protection whereas it is clear that he retained his interest in urban buildings and monuments.

⁶⁶ Baldwin Brown, 'Our Ancient Monuments', pp. 205–06.

⁶⁷ Gerard Baldwin Brown, *The Care of Ancient Monuments* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905), pp. 10–11.

⁶⁸ He no doubt discussed these with his friend and colleague Patrick Geddes who had himself campaigned for the adoption of more sensitive improvement schemes. Baldwin Brown opposed an early town scheme which proposed demolishing the early eighteenth-century Murrayfield House on the west side of Edinburgh.

⁶⁹ Gerard Baldwin Brown, 'Town Planning and the Preservation of Ancient Features', in *Royal Institute of British Architects, Town Planning Conference, 10–15 October 1910, Transactions* (London: RIBA, 1911), pp. 187–99.

⁷⁰ See Simon Thurley, *Men from the Ministry* (London: Yale, 2013), Chapter 5, pp. 66–83.

⁷¹ Schomberg McDonnell, 'The Protection of Ancient Buildings and Monuments', in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London* (24 June 1912), p. 23. McDonnell presented this paper to the Society on 7 December 1911 and was accompanied by Charles Peers who showed a number of slides. The mention of his study of foreign legislation '6 years ago' is likely to be a reference to *The Care of Ancient Monuments*.

⁷² There was a strong suggestion that evidence about Scotland at the Select Committee should be given by Scotsmen and that the Ancient Monuments Board should, with the exception of Peers, also be made up of Scotsmen. Interestingly, there is clear evidence that Peers deliberately excluded Sir Robert Rowand

Anderson from the Scottish Ancient Monument Board because he was a 'restoring architect'.

⁷³ M. Sinclair, *The Right Honourable John Sinclair, Lord Pentland GCSI: A Memoir* (London: Methuen, 1928), pp. 104–06.

⁷⁴ It is commonly presented that the Royal Commission came into being first in England (or that the three Commissions appeared simultaneously). This was not the case and the delays in setting up an English Commission eventually led to questions being raised in Parliament.

⁷⁵ Ross was an architect and architectural historian while Oldrieve was the Ministry of Work's Principal Architect for Scotland. The Commission's Secretary, Alexander O. Curle, and their architect, A. L. MacGibbon, were also involved, but the main work was undertaken by the Commissioners in order to allow the work to continue without being seen to be a major drain on the organization's resources.

⁷⁶ In a highly symbolic gesture, Baldwin Brown donated his own Edinburgh notes and a number of his Edinburgh books to the Royal Commission in 1930. The Edinburgh volume eventually appeared in 1951: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS), *An Inventory of the Ancient and Historical Monuments of The City of Edinburgh, 13th report* (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1951).

⁷⁷ See David M. Walker, 'Listing in Scotland: Origin, Survey and Resurvey', *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society*, 38 (1994), 31–98.

⁷⁸ John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (New York: Dover Publications, 1989), p. 182.

Notes on contributor

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Gerard Baldwin Brown and the Preservation of Edinburgh's Old Town

by

MALCOLM A. COOPER

It was not long after Gerard Baldwin Brown took up the post of Professor of Fine Art at the University of Edinburgh in 1880 that he became concerned about the rapid loss of early domestic vernacular buildings in Edinburgh's Old Town. With his broad knowledge of cultural history he was well placed to recognise the significance of these buildings in historical, cultural and aesthetic terms. He also had a detailed knowledge of the emerging urban preservation movement on the continent and believed that a similar approach should be adopted in Scotland's capital. This paper seeks to explore the process by which Baldwin Brown and a group of like-minded colleagues persuaded the town council to develop an inventory of historical buildings for Edinburgh's Old Town and to adopt a more sympathetic attitude to the town's early buildings.

INTRODUCTION

It is twenty years since David M. Walker gave a detailed account of the development of listing in Scotland in these *Transactions*.¹ His starting point was the Town and Country Planning (Scotland) Act of 1932 but, although he drew attention to earlier discussions in Scotland about inventories,² the focus of his paper was the 1930s onwards. The intention in this paper is to explore the events which took place in Edinburgh in the period prior to that investigated by Walker. In the last decade of the 19th and the early part of the 20th century, a small group sought to establish an inventory of buildings of historic and artistic importance for Edinburgh's Old Town. Their aim was to influence decision-making within the town council, the Dean of Guild and the town's various improvement bodies and to counter the 'slum dwellings' rhetoric which provided the justification for the seemingly unstoppable process of demolition and clearance. Attempting to preserve the vernacular domestic buildings in the Old Town in the face of the 'common-sense' health arguments and the desire for broader civic improvements appears to have been a highly dispiriting experience. Nonetheless, this period is of particular interest for the historiography of the preservation movement and its study sheds an interesting light on how the early preservationists went about the business of shifting political and public opinion.

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Fig. 1

'Gerard Baldwin Brown', delivering a Fine Art lecture at the University of Edinburgh. Oil painting by James Cadenhead RSA, c.1906.

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As is well known, Patrick Geddes was a key figure in the preservation movement in Edinburgh at that time and the 'conservative surgery' approach he adopted for the Old Town buildings is of particular importance.³ The continuing fascination with Geddes has, though, drawn attention away from others who were also seeking a more sympathetic response to Edinburgh's ancient domestic vernacular buildings from landowners, residents and politicians. Of these, the tenacious efforts of Edinburgh University's first Professor of Fine Art, Gerard Baldwin Brown (Fig. 1) are highly significant and yet have been almost entirely overlooked. An active and visible figure in the town's early preservation movement, he sought not only to protect the vernacular domestic buildings, but argued against development which would have adversely affected the NeoClassical set pieces in the New Town and the town's gardens, squares and other green spaces. Following his arrival in Edinburgh in 1880, Baldwin Brown rapidly developed and articulated his views on the town's significance. He also set out to educate the public on the way in which its topography, buildings and spaces contributed to this significance in order to

gain broader support for its preservation. He was not, of course, the first to attempt to do this, but what is particularly striking is the comprehensive nature of his approach and his tenacity; it is also clear that he undertook this pursuit at no little professional and personal cost.³ Baldwin Brown also worked closely with a group of like-minded Edinburgh-based professionals. These included not only Geddes,⁴ but the architect and architectural historian, Thomas Ross,⁵ the Office of Works Principal Architect in Scotland, William Oldrieve,⁶ and the Town Council's curator and artist of Old Edinburgh, Bruce Home.⁸ This was a period when clubs, societies and associations were of particular significance for civil society and this experienced group also used their positions on a variety of professional and amenity bodies to influence their activities toward the protection of Edinburgh's ancient buildings.

EDINBURGH'S OLD TOWN DOMESTIC VERNACULAR BUILDINGS

The recognition that some Old Town buildings were of both historical interest and were aesthetically pleasing was already in place by the 18th century. In common with other long-lived towns in Britain, detailed histories with topographical and building descriptions began to appear by the mid-18th century, and illustrated town guides from the later 18th century onwards.⁹ There were also descriptions by visitors and other types of writing – Sir Walter Scott's Waverley novels, for example, were of particular significance for the town's identity and for the portrayal of its traditional buildings. At the beginning of the 19th century, the prolific Robert Chambers produced some of the most detailed descriptions of the Old Town. His *Traditions in Edinburgh* and *Walks in Edinburgh*, both published in Edinburgh in the 1820s, and *Reekiana: Minor Antiquities of Edinburgh* published in 1833, emphasised the association of Old Town buildings with key personalities and historical events.¹⁰ He also provided a thoughtful illustrated architectural study of the town's vernacular buildings in his *Ancient Domestic Architecture in Edinburgh*.¹¹ Meanwhile volumes of engravings of Edinburgh's modern and ancient buildings were becoming popular,¹² and artists such as James Drummond were exhibiting paintings of Old Town buildings at the Royal Scottish Academy's annual exhibition and elsewhere.

In 1848 the Scottish antiquarian, Daniel Wilson, published the first edition of his two-volume *Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time*,¹³ containing detailed drawings and descriptions of Old Town buildings. The timing is significant in that Wilson was responding to the accelerating losses that were taking place, of which the demolition of Trinity College Church and Hospital (a 15th-century royal foundation in the Waverley Valley, sacrificed by the Town Council to the rapidly expanding railways) became a *cause célèbre*. Under Wilson's influence, the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland was active in the mid-19th century, opposing not only the proposed demolition of Trinity College Church but other buildings and structures such as John Knox's House on the High Street and stretches of the town wall.¹⁴ However, despite broader campaigns, such as that mounted by Lord Cockburn,¹⁵ the preservation of the Old Town's vernacular buildings continued to be portrayed as the minority interest of antiquarians and artists.

In parallel with the creation of the New Town in the second half of the 18th century,¹⁶ Edinburgh's municipal authorities pursued a programme of modernisation in Old Town which was suffering from a sustained period of decline.¹⁷ These improvements included

the construction of new civic buildings, the 'restoration' of existing historic buildings,¹⁸ the laying out of new streets, and removal of 'obstructions' such as the Market Cross and Tolbooth.¹⁹ However, the scale of change was to shift dramatically with the Improvement Act of 1867. This was developed in response to the overcrowding in the Old Town, the major health issues that had resulted, and the problems of fire and building collapse. Under this Act, the Old Town was to witness the demolition of over 2,700 buildings in the following two decades, a number of which were both characterful and had significant historical associations.²⁰ In 1878, shortly before Baldwin Brown's arrival, the iconic jettied timber-framed building at the head of the West Bow was condemned by the Burgh Engineer and demolished along with 'several [other] houses of great historical interest, which have for two centuries formed notable and picturesque landmarks in Edinburgh' (Fig. 2).²¹

Improvement continued to be a feature of the Old Town, with the next major programme adopted in 1893. In comparison with the large area-based clearances of the 1867 Act, this adopted a smaller-scale and more focused approach and included the retention and adaptation of a small number of domestic buildings. In using this approach, the town council were influenced by Patrick Geddes, who by then had already successfully adapted a number of buildings, and argued that such an approach offered significant advantages in terms of social cohesion and identity.²² Indeed the Council were to invite Geddes to take responsibility for the work undertaken at the north end of the High Street at Riddle's Close and Wardrop Close.²³ However, even where building preservation was achieved, the level of intervention could be severe,²⁴ and elsewhere in the Old Town buildings continued to be declared unfit for human habitation and were demolished. Concerns certainly existed in some quarters:

The Town Council of Edinburgh by tacit assent and the Dean of Guild Court by positive "fiat" have doomed to immediate destruction a group of the finest old houses still remaining in Edinburgh. There is no question of over-crowding or of dilapidation. The tenements in the lower High Street to which I allude are solidly built of stone. They have weathered the storms of three centuries, and with decent care would withstand the profits of three centuries more. There is ample space round about them, and they are exceedingly good examples of old Scottish architecture.²⁵

However, the occasional critical letter was unlikely to influence a council with one eye on the city's serious health issues and the other on the civic improvements in London and elsewhere. It would take a sustained and far more comprehensive campaign to make a difference and it was Baldwin Brown who stepped to the fore.

PROTECTING OLD EDINBURGH

Of those working for preservation in Edinburgh at the end of the 19th century, Baldwin Brown was particularly well placed to recognise the importance of the Old Town's vernacular domestic buildings and he also understood the key role that an inventory might play in the move for preservation, based on his interest in early ecclesiastical architecture.²⁶ He had long believed that Thomas Rickman's *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England* was the key textbook on English architecture. Rickman had intended to publish a companion volume on Anglo-Saxon architecture and in

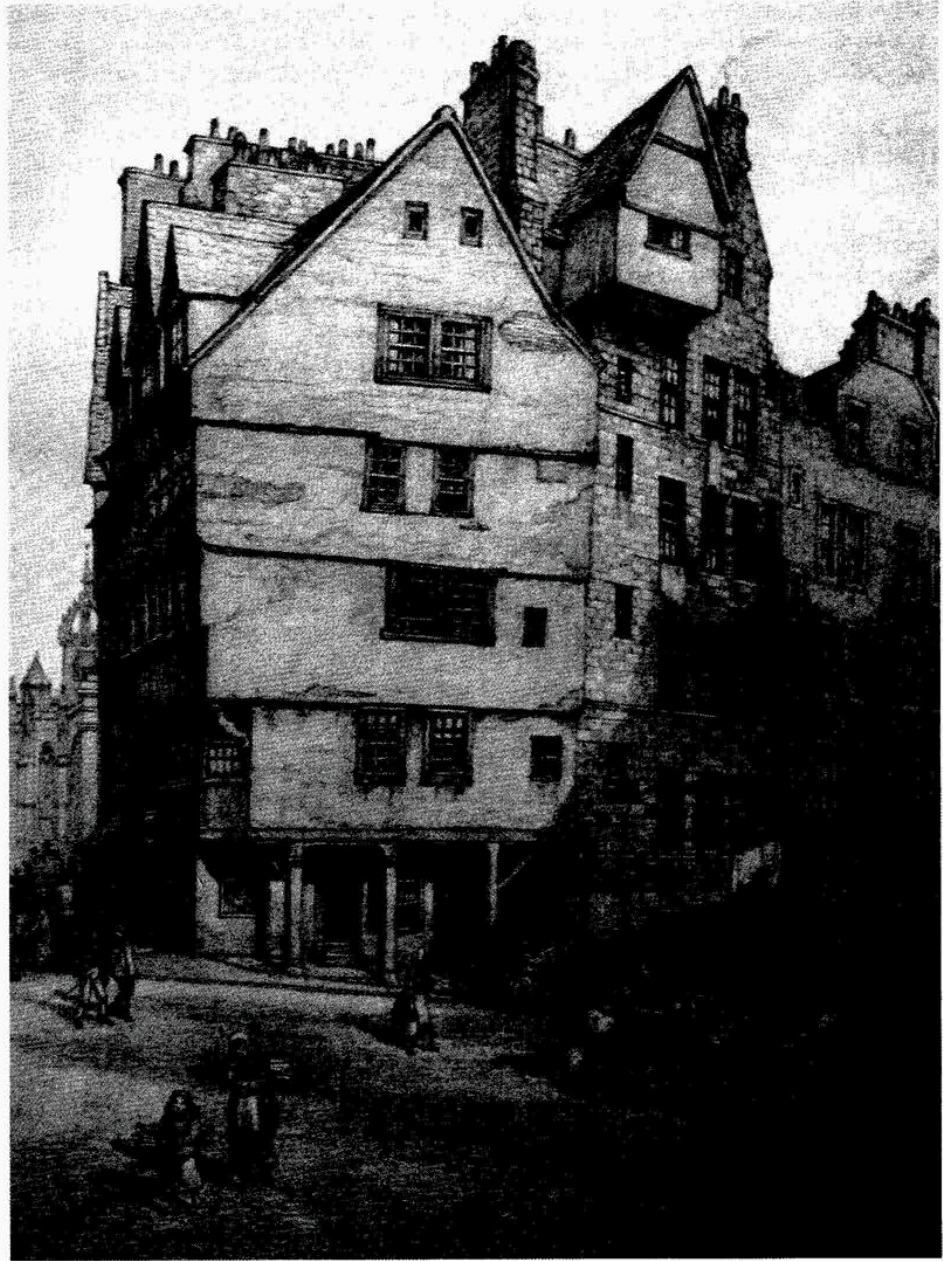


Fig. 2

'Old Bow Head', demolished in 1878. Pencil drawing by Bruce J. Home, from B.J. Home, *Old Houses in Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1905/07).

anticipation of this, had removed the information relating to this period from the 1881 edition of his work. However the companion volume did not appear and Baldwin Brown therefore decided that he would produce the definitive study.²⁷ It was to take him ten years to assess all of the published research and to visit the known pre-Conquest sites, and during this time he prepared single-handedly what was in effect the first detailed inventory of Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical architecture in England (and this was from his base in Edinburgh!).²⁸ He therefore knew *at first hand* the importance of inventories for those wishing to locate, study and assess the comparative significance ancient sites and buildings. Baldwin Brown was a regular traveller in Europe, collecting material for his lectures and research, and he benefited from accomplished language skills. He knew also therefore that inventories were crucial not just for academic research but were being used as the basis for the preservation process on the continent.²⁹ Some four years into his study he reflected that:

No one explorer can make the needful minute examinations of sites and fabrics all over the country, through the number is no so great as to preclude the possibility of one person visiting them all ... What is required first is what the French would call the *statistique monumentale* of pre-Conquest architecture, such as would be furnished by verified list of sites, with a brief indication in each case of the character of existing remains, or a map giving the names and geographical distribution of places where pre-Conquest work is to be found.³⁰

Finally, in studying the nature and development of art across the world's major civilisations, Baldwin Brown had developed the belief that architecture formed a key part of culture and identity, and reflected them.³¹ He also had a particular knowledge of urban history and culture – in his lectures on Renaissance art, for example, he analysed the broader historical, topographic and architectural development of the northern Italian cities in a manner akin to that of an urban geographer. To Baldwin Brown, Edinburgh Old Town's vernacular domestic architecture was significant both on its own terms and as an element of Scotland's broader cultural development and identity.³²

Baldwin Brown knew that the preservation battle had to a great extent been won in the public's mind with regard to iconic Scottish sites such as Edinburgh Castle and the Palace of Holyrood House.³³ This was not the case however for the town's domestic vernacular architecture and he rapidly joined battle. By the start of the 20th century he had already spent the best part of two decades protecting buildings and spaces in Edinburgh's Old and New Towns and was a regular correspondent in the *Scotsman* on matters relating to the town's 'amenity'. He had also stood (unsuccessfully) for election as a local councillor in order to oppose a series of proposed railway expansion schemes.³⁴ Baldwin Brown was an accomplished committee man and at various times he had harnessed the support of the Royal Scottish Academy, the Scottish Arts Club and the National Association for the Advancement of Art and its Application to Industry.³⁵ In 1903 he sat on the council of the Cockburn Association,³⁶ was on the management committee of Edinburgh Architectural Association (having previously been its President),³⁷ and was elected onto to the Council of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. These organisations gave Baldwin Brown a powerful platform from which to pursue his preservation agenda and he frequently encouraged them to work together on preservation campaigns in order to strengthen their influence further.³⁸

Shortly after his appointment to their council, the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland met with the Cockburn Association to discuss the continuing loss of the Old Town buildings. The outcome, in 1904, was *The Care of Historical Cities*, a booklet researched and written by Baldwin Brown.³⁹ This reviewed the protection of historical cities on the continent and was a precursor to the broader discussions contained in *The Care of Ancient Monuments* which was published a year later.⁴⁰ *The Care of Historical Cities* was specifically written with the protection of Edinburgh in mind and it stressed the importance of creating an inventory: 'Such an inventory is the necessary first step towards any measures for preservation'.

In July 1904, he lectured on *Old Edinburgh: The Secrets of Its Charm*. The large audience included the Lord Provost and number of the town's councillors and magistrates.⁴¹ This is an important talk for understanding his thinking and is deserving of detailed scrutiny. While pressing for a significant change of approach in Edinburgh, he clearly understood that moderation was necessary and his arguments had to be presented in terms of the wider benefits of preservation for the citizens as a whole. He started by analysing the Old Town's character, stressing that he intended not to speak of the Edinburgh of world-famous monuments such as the Castle, Holyrood or St Giles,

but rather of the Edinburgh of the smaller picturesque features, which singularly were of minor importance, though in combination they imparted to the street their special physiognomy. By these were meant the division and grouping of the masses of the older houses and their rugged masonry; the frequent gables, the dormer windows, with their carved finials, the timber projections, the rough stone slating, the harling, the moulded doorways and inscribed lintels, all of which helped to impart such a pleasant old-world aspect to the more ancient thoroughfares. The secret of the charm of Edinburgh resided partly in the natural features of the site, and partly in the general architectural treatment of the site, with the effective contrast between the classic regularity of the New Town and the picturesque confusion of the crowded and towering "lands" of the Old. ... These older architectural relics, with the historical associations which gathered so thickly around them, were amongst the attractions of Edinburgh which intelligent strangers found of especial interest. They were in this sense civic assets that had really a commercial as well as an artistic and historical value. Their preservation was from all points of view a matter of importance, for it must be remembered that they were a class of possessions which, when once destroyed, could never again be restored.⁴²

He noted that in other large cities, the early buildings eliminated by improvement scheme often had no value and were in tumbledown condition. However:

In Edinburgh ... the older houses, dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were as a general rule solid stone structures, many of which might stand for centuries, and they possessed the artistic and historical value already referred to. For their preservation it was worthwhile taking a good deal of trouble, and even facing some immediate outlay, which, if Edinburgh retained all her attractions to visitors, would soon be repaid. It was a matter for congratulation that a policy of wise conservation was now in the ascendant in that department of municipal government which had this matter in charge. The old "lands" might have to be gutted and their interior spaces redistributed, but the matter of importance for the charm of old Edinburgh was the judicious reparation and preservation of the external fabric.⁴³

He suggested that, although there was currently no move at national level to introduce protective measures for occupied buildings, the local authority might consider

introducing its own controls as it had done successfully to reduce the adverse visual impact of advertising on the city's amenity.

Baldwin Brown also wrote two long and informative articles which appeared in the *Scotsman* in August of that year.⁴⁴ In the first, he summarised the recent efforts by cities in Germany to 'take stock of their possessions' in order to 'make the most of what remains to them'. He noted that Edinburgh town council was now considering the preparation of an inventory, and he went on to set out a number of further steps he thought should be pursued:

Local regulations for building should be enlarged and strengthened along the lines of the German ones ... The city should be able to control the laying out of new districts that will presently be forming part of the city.... There should be no more demolitions of frontages to the High Street or the Canongate, and no atrocities in brick and concrete should be permitted in the conspicuous parts of the city. New work on old domestic buildings should not borrow fancy architecture from models of quite a different character, but should accord in style and treatment and material with the mass of structures of the same kind in the vicinity. Builders, when they point an old rubble wall, should be taught not to smear all their superfluous mortar over the ancient stones; and when they plaster a rubble wall they should not rule lines upon it to make it look like squared ashlar. Brick should, where possible, be avoided in the repairs of the chimney stalks and other parts of the old stone houses.⁴⁵

In the second article, Baldwin Brown explored in more detail the preservation-related activities on the continent, undertaken in response to the rapid changes being experienced. As was his intention, the relevance to Edinburgh is immediately apparent:

...the demand for broad, level, and straight streets, roomy places of business, imposing frontages, and domestic interiors supplied with the latest apparatus of health and comfort, has led to wholesale demolitions and rebuildings, which have altered out of all knowledge the older parts of many of our historical cities ... It is not to be wondered at that misgivings have arisen in the minds of many as to the wisdom and economy of some of these sweeping changes.⁴⁶

He emphasised in particular the recent activities in Germany:

Thoughtful and patriotic citizens who saw the traditional aspect of cities of the fatherland dissolving before their eyes were wounded in their historic sense and in their affection for home. From this has arisen a powerful movement, dating from about five years back, the tendency of which may be summed up in the word recently adopted as the title of a patriotic society – "Heimatschutz", or "The Defence of Home". As our neighbours across the North Sea are nothing if not systematic, they have taken up and discussed these questions with characteristic thoroughness. An annual congress, under the title "Tag für Denkmalpflege", or "Meeting for the Care of Monuments", is held in different towns of the Empire, and a special journal, the organ of the movement, gives every month a chronicle of all that is tried or accomplished for the cause, in Germany or abroad, either by legislation or by private agency.⁴⁷

He also quoted at length from a sympathetic speech given by the Burgomaster of Hildesheim, regarding the duties of civic authorities in regard to historical cities. The mechanisms for protection being pursued there included not only the purchase of ancient buildings by the municipal authorities, but grant-aid to owners for repairs, the use of architectural competition to ensure sympathetic designs for new buildings and the occasional use of compulsive measures where owners were unsympathetic to preservation.

In considering the varying national and regional political arrangements on the continent, Baldwin Brown had also come to recognise that a distinction might be made between the management of buildings and monuments of national importance and those which, while of lesser significance, were of historical and aesthetic significance in terms of the character of a specific historic town. This encouraged him to the idea of a two-tier system in Britain, with both national and local protective systems, each supported by their own inventories.

In parallel with his public campaigns, Baldwin Brown presented his views to professional audiences, writing articles on urban protection for, amongst others, the *Builder* and the *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*. He returned to the press at the end of the year, however, to draw attention to a conference he had recently attended, organised by the German movement for the protection of historical cities:

... a long discussion took place on the question of the treatment of the older examples of domestic architecture in historical cities, and it was urged that they should not only be catalogued, photographed, and measured, but should be preserved.⁴⁸

He undoubtedly chose to emphasise this discussion, as this was exactly the approach he was pursuing in Edinburgh.

THE CREATION OF AN EDINBURGH INVENTORY

By the end of 1904 it seemed that all the ingredients for preserving significant domestic vernacular buildings in Old Edinburgh were being brought together. There were a number of visible and active bodies with an interest in protecting the town's amenity and these were coordinating their efforts under Baldwin Brown's influence. The Edinburgh Photographic Society was in the process of preparing a photographic survey of Old Edinburgh.⁴⁹ Most important of all, by January 1905 Edinburgh Town Council had under serious consideration the formal proposal by one of its number, Bailie W. Fraser Dobie,⁵⁰ to prepare 'a register of all the old buildings in Edinburgh of historical or architectural interest, and to consider whether any steps should be taken for the preservation of those considered of sufficient importance to be retained or restored'.⁵¹ The council responded positively and gave Dobie and the Town Clerk the task of preparing 'a report containing a list of such houses with details of their measurements, historical account, &c., and the cost of carrying out the register'.⁵² By the start of 1906, however, an inventory had not appeared and in a speech delivered to Edinburgh Architectural Association on *The Aesthetic Duties of a Corporation toward a City*, Bailie Dobie sought to encourage progress.⁵³ Offered perhaps as a stalking horse, he also included the suggestion that the town council and Dean of Guild might benefit from the services of an Artistic Advisory Committee, the make-up of which might include the Presidents of the Royal Scottish Academy, the Edinburgh Architectural Association and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and the Chairmen of the Cockburn Association and the new Art School – and, of course, the Professor of Fine Arts!⁵⁴ In parallel, Baldwin Brown was continuing to press for the local inventory:

Independently, however, of any Acts of Parliament or legal procedure, the Town Council of Edinburgh might accomplish the work for our older buildings which is being done in many similar towns abroad. This is the work of drawing up an official list based on

actual survey of the ancient features of the city architecture which still remain to us. It is everywhere being recognised that this process of inventorisation is a necessary first step towards any measure of protection, and some eighteen months ago a proposal was made, and ultimately agreed to in the Town Council, for such an inventory to be drawn up. The project could be carried out in practice with ease, and at slight cost, but it is unfortunately still in abeyance. Is it too much for the Edinburgh public interested in these matters to press on the Town Council the carrying out of this very valuable and interesting piece of work? No doubt outside help would be readily given by citizens of architectural, historical, and antiquarian tastes ... it is essential that the Town Council take the lead and give to the work its official imprimatur. On such an inventory any future conservative measures must be based, and these are necessarily the concern of the civic authorities, who should be concerned in the matter from the outset.⁵⁵

In the meantime however demolitions in the Old Town continued. In June 1906 one of the last surviving stretches of the Flodden Wall was under threat and Baldwin Brown once again raised the matter of the inventory: 'Other cities have been accomplishing such inventories; is our own action to be confined to empty resolutions and references to committees that show no activity in the matter?'.⁵⁶

Although the inventory proposal appeared to have stalled, another initiative was also being pursued. Adopting an approach similar to that being followed in the German city of Hildesheim, this sought to secure the ownership of key Old Town buildings by sympathetic individuals or organisations (including the town council itself). A letter written by Patrick Geddes in 1907, for example, identifies a group of houses which might form a 'municipal museum' collection along the 'Historic Mile' and which he felt should be acquired by the council. He also notes that his own work over the preceding twenty years had secured buildings at each end of the Old Town and he highlighted the support of the former Prime Minister, Lord Rosebery, who had acquired Lady Stair's House and donated it to the town council. Rosebery was also amenable to acquiring other historic buildings in the Old Town:

Does not all this clearly show how the preservation of Old Edinburgh, indeed the preservation and resuscitation of the Historic Mile, interests not only Edinburgh citizens, but eminent Scotsmen everywhere. ... Pray talk this over with Mr Home and Mr Baldwin Brown, and any others you think fit.⁵⁷

Matters regarding the inventory were progressing at glacial speed, but in June 1908 the council's museum curator, Bruce Home, finally was able to circulate his *Provisional List of Old Houses Remaining in High Street and Canongate of Edinburgh* to the councillors and magistrates.⁵⁸ The *Provisional List* provided a description of the historic buildings along the historic mile. It then described the 'outlying parts of the Old Town, beyond the central avenue, but within the limits of the City Wall, the Nor' Loch, and the North and South Backs of the Canongate.' The report concluded with a numbered list of buildings, divided into three parts: 'List of Older Public Buildings in Edinburgh Which are Not Threatened at Present'; 'List of Older Public or Semi-Public Buildings in Edinburgh Whose Outlook is Less Assured'; and 'List of Buildings Possessing Historic, Antiquarian, or Architectural Interest Which it is Desirable to Preserve as Far as May Be Possible'.⁵⁹ This list appears to have been both adopted by the council and re-titled as, shortly afterwards, the council's Plans and Work Committee were asked to 'report as to the best means of protecting

and retaining any Antiquarian or Historical Buildings in Edinburgh that is one of the subjects detailed in the Municipal Register of Historical Buildings'.⁶⁰

As with the inventory itself, the council took its time in reaching a view on how buildings on the *Municipal Register* might be protected. The Old Edinburgh Club therefore decided to encourage matters along. Founded in early 1908 to draw together historical and archival material concerning Edinburgh, the Club rapidly involved itself in the broader preservation movement.⁶¹ Bruce Home used the Club's first volume (published in March 1909) to reproduce his 1908 list (slightly amended and with a map added) and he took the opportunity to introduce a provocative introduction.⁶² This opened with the statement: 'It may be safely affirmed that, since 1860, two-thirds of the ancient buildings in the Old Town of Edinburgh have been demolished'.⁶³ The *Edinburgh Evening News* picked this up, reflecting that 'The contents of the Book show how useful the club will prove in preserving the history of old Edinburgh, and in bridling that spirit of vandalism which has destroyed many of the interesting buildings in the Scottish capital'.⁶⁴

The council was clearly stung but, as ever, matters continued to progress slowly. However, the Lord Provost, as an honorary Vice-President of the Old Edinburgh Club, was due to attend its second annual meeting on 28 January 1911. He clearly anticipated that he might be given a rough ride, particularly with Lord Rosebery in the chair,⁶⁵ and it is no surprise therefore that on 20 December 1910 the council finally concluded its considerations on how they might protect the buildings on the Municipal Register:

the various officials of the Corporation be instructed to report to the Town Clerk (for submission to the Magistrates and Council or appropriate Committee) any proposals which may come under their cognisance affecting such buildings.⁶⁶

It seemed that the level of pressure being brought by the amenity bodies was having an effect and a more sympathetic mood was gradually developing at the council. In 1910, for example, the Cockburn Association, despite facing its own internal struggles, had launched an appeal to purchase and preserve Moubray House, lying adjacent to John Knox's House, on the High Street (Fig. 3). The ownership was to be vested in a purpose-created trust,⁶⁷ and subsequently this was proposed to operate both buildings as a tourist attraction and as gallery space for the sale of locally-produced arts and crafts.⁶⁸ The Association was however struggling to find the funds for the purchase and, in what seems a highly significant decision, the council agreed to make a financial contribution allowing the building's future to be secured.⁶⁹

There were, however, further issues to be pursued. The first related to the level of expertise available to the council with regard to historic buildings and the town's broader amenity.⁷⁰ In what might have been the final element for an effective protective system, in April 1911 Bailie Dobie formally submitted to the council his earlier idea for an 'Advisory Committee of specially qualified persons to assist them in their consideration of questions regarding the preservation and improvement of the amenity of the City'.⁷¹ However, his was a step too far for the councillors and the proposal was rejected.⁷² The second issue was that the Municipal Register only covered a limited area of the Old Town. Baldwin Brown and his colleagues recognised that the Old Town inventory needed to be expanded as soon as possible.

EXPANDING THE MUNICIPAL REGISTER

At this point it is helpful to shift the focus of our attention. One of the outcomes of *The Care of Ancient Monuments* was the creation in 1908 of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of Scotland.⁷³ Baldwin Brown was appointed as one of the founding Commissioners⁷⁴ and he immediately saw the possibility of using the Commission's formal status to give momentum to the expansion of the inventory. In October 1908 the Commission's Secretary, Alexander Curle, wrote to Edinburgh's Town Clerk and to Councillor Dobie, to congratulate the council on their inventory and to suggest that a complete schedule of Old Edinburgh houses should be completed by Bruce Home.⁷⁵ The Commission also decided that urban inventories should be commenced elsewhere:

With the view of interesting local authorities in Burghs in the preservation of their monuments and in case these should be destroyed or interfered with before the Commission are able to undertake the work of recording them, it was resolved to ask the Town Councils of Royal Burghs to make up local inventories and the Secretary was directed to communicate with such Town Councils accordingly.⁷⁶

By November of that year, Curle reported that he had received favourable replies from over half of the sixty councils contacted, some of whom were already in the course of making up such lists, and it was agreed that individual Commissioners would visit



Fig. 3

'John Knox's House, Netherbow, 1843'. Pencil drawing by Daniel Wilson, prepared subsequently as an engraving, from D. Wilson, *Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time* (Edinburgh, 1848), vol.ii, opposite p.38.

specific towns to inspect the buildings once individual inventories had been received. Curle wrote to Bailie Dobie again in April 1910:

The Commissioners last year directed a communication to the Town Councils of all the Royal Burghs of Scotland requesting their assistance by furnishing Lists of all Antiquities such as old Buildings, ecclesiastical and secular, crosses, armorial stones, sun-dials inscribed lintels, bells &c, of date prior to the year 1707. Thanks no doubt to the initiative taken by the Corporation of Edinburgh in framing an Inventory of ancient houses along the historic mile from the Castle to Holyrood, the request has met with a great measure of success. Of a total of some 60 Burghs communicated with almost the whole have replied furnishing or promising the information desired. Among others list have been received from Glasgow, Perth, Aberdeen, Inverness, and Ayr. In a number of cases photographs of the objects themselves have also been sent. The interest in the ancient and historical relics of the Royal Burghs which this evinces is very gratifying to the Commissioners. Knowing to what an extent you have identified yourself with the movement for the preservation of all that is of historical interest in the City of Edinburgh, I write in the hope that you may bring this matter to the notice of your Council and induce them to undertake the compilation of such an Inventory as has been completed or promised by practically all the other important Royal Burghs in Scotland. Without local cooperation in this national undertaking the task of the Commissioners is rendered extremely difficult.⁷⁷

One has to admire the tactics adopted here. Having used the positive progress in Edinburgh to encourage other Scottish councils to prepare inventories, the resulting progress in the Scottish burghs (and particularly in Glasgow) was then used to encourage Edinburgh to expand their own list! Curle had already received inventories from twenty-eight councils and by June the process of dividing up the burgh visits between the Commissioners had begun. In November a sub-committee comprising Baldwin Brown, Ross and Oldrieve was created to supervise the Reports on Architectural Structures and to deal with the Burgh Inventories.⁷⁸

Matters were going from strength to strength, and in 1910 the Commission had decided to enhance their expertise by appointing the architect A.L. MacGibbon.⁷⁹ Curle indicated to the Treasury that 'should Mr MacGibbon's appointment be approved of, he is ready to commence forthwith with the City of Edinburgh, and a volume of Royal Burghs, should, I think, be ready for publication next year'.⁸⁰ The following February, Curle was able to write in highly positive tones to the Town Clerk at Edinburgh:

I expect that the Inventory of the Edinburgh monuments will be undertaken very shortly, and the representative of the Commission will, as your Committee suggest, see Mr Bruce Home with a view to obtaining any further information regarding these.⁸¹

However, something then went badly awry and in March the sub-committee recommended to the Commissioners 'that separate inventories for the Royal Burghs should not be proceeded with on the grounds that it is undesirable to separate the antiquities of the towns from those of the Counties in which the towns are situated'. Work on the burgh inventories therefore ceased.⁸² The decision must have been extremely difficult for Baldwin Brown, Ross and Oldrieve to make, especially given the extremely positive progress which had been made. Although the reason for this sudden about-face is not immediately apparent, the explanation most probably lies with Lord Pentland who we know was becoming increasingly frustrated at the slow progress of the county inventories.⁸³ It seems likely therefore that the Treasury directed that MacGibbon should

be employed on the county-based surveys and that work on the burgh inventories should cease. The sub-committee, however, did take a number of steps to save the Edinburgh and Leith inventory, which was intended to be included in the Midlothian volume. To head off criticism about resources, it seems that they suggested that the Commissioners themselves, rather than the Commission staff, should lead on the work. They also intended to spread the load by taking advantage of the knowledge possessed by members of the various bodies and individuals interested in Old Edinburgh more broadly. A few days later, Curle contacted a number of organisations and individuals in Edinburgh to seek their assistance in expanding the inventory.⁸⁴ There was a positive response and an 'Old Edinburgh' meeting, chaired by Baldwin Brown, was held on 2 May 1911 where it was agreed that a permanent committee be set up to this end.⁸⁵ However the initiative rapidly lost momentum, possibly because in June 1911 the council, in the person of Councillor Dobie, met formally with Baldwin Brown (representing the Royal Commission) to discuss an expanded the inventory and in October the council formally agreed to undertake the work. This was given to Bruce Home to undertake under the council's Museum sub-committee's supervision.⁸⁶ Regrettably, Bruce Home died four months later and this, together with the disruption caused subsequently by the First World War, appears to brought matters to a halt.⁸⁷

AFTER THE WAR

In 1918 the Edinburgh council returned to the subject of housing provision and employment, and by 1919 the pre-War proposals for a new Improvement Scheme, focused on sites in the Grassmarket and Cowgate area lying in the valley on the south side of the Old Town, were brought forward. As had been feared earlier, this exposed the limitations of Bruce Home's 1908 list. The response from the amenity bodies was swift and this included the Ancient Monuments Board for Scotland, which had been created in 1913.⁸⁸ It approached the Society of Antiquaries, the Royal Scottish Academy, the Cockburn Association, the Old Edinburgh Club and the Institute of Scottish Architects, with 'a view to formulating definite policy for dealing with the protection of old Town houses within the City of Edinburgh, and submitting that policy to the Lord Provost, Magistrates and Councillors'.⁸⁹ The other amenity bodies were already in action, with the Old Edinburgh Club and Cockburn Association⁹⁰ writing to the town council that 'every care should be taken to preserve not only buildings possessing interesting historical associations, but also those which exhibit the architectural characteristics of past periods of our national history'.⁹¹ They encouraged the council to consider the adaptation or the preservation of street elevations and, crucially, they also provided a list of those buildings affected which they believed were of particular significance.⁹²

The issue of the council's expertise remained a concern and, in parallel, the Edinburgh Architectural Association and the Cockburn Association both pressed the council to ensure that appropriately experienced architects were appointed to deal with ancient buildings under the improvement scheme.⁹³ The Cockburn were also pressing for the creation of what they now termed a 'Civic Amenity Council' to assist the council with town planning matters, writing to a reportedly sympathetic Town Clerk on the basis of a memorandum drawn up by Baldwin Brown.⁹⁴ Baldwin Brown, Ross, Oldrieve,

and the architect Frank Mears also appear to have inspected properties affected by the improvement proposals and it is no coincidence that a detailed paper on the 17th-century Tailors' Hall complex situated on the Cowgate, written by Ross, Baldwin Brown and a colleague, appeared at this time.⁹⁵ The threat of the emerging improvement scheme also encouraged the Royal Commission to restart its work on Edinburgh. In 1921 the decision was taken that 'the principal architect should co-operate with Professor Baldwin Brown, Mr Oldrieve and Dr Ross in continuing the architectural survey of the City of Edinburgh',⁹⁶ and draft entries were drawn up for a number of buildings between 1921 and 1923. However, other priorities intervened and, following the decision to exclude Edinburgh from the Midlothian volume in 1927, work halted once again.

It is certainly the case that another group of early domestic buildings in the Old Town were lost under the improvements taken forward in the 1920s and early 1930s, but there were also signs that the council was becoming gradually more sympathetic to preserving the increasingly small number of early buildings that remained. They were persuaded, for example, to adapt rather than to demolish the run of early buildings adjacent to Greyfriars churchyard, on the west side of Candlemakers' Row. The council also took the important step of purchasing Huntly House and Acheson House on the Canongate (Fig. 4).⁹⁷ Matters were not always straightforward, however, and in this period we also see the very significant level of reconstruction at 74-82 Grassmarket. This was undertaken by the newly-appointed and highly talented council architect, Ebenezer J. MacRae,⁹⁸ who had led on the Candlemaker's Row work but found himself in the Grassmarket

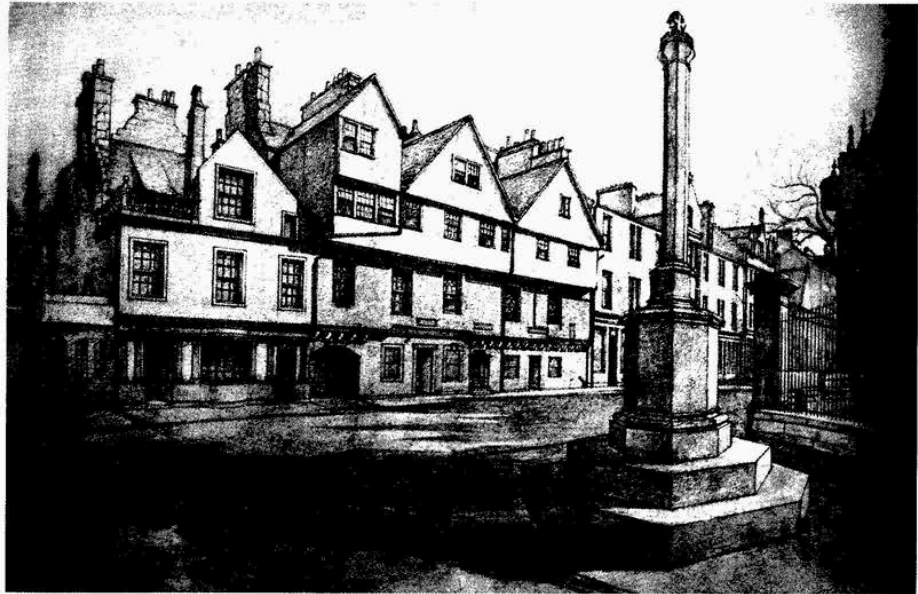


Fig. 4

'Huntly House, Canongate'. Late 19th-century pencil drawing by Bruce J. Home, from B.J. Home, *Old Houses in Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1905/07).

case constrained by an extremely unhelpful Medical Officer of Health, who refused to approve the refurbishment scheme as the floor-to-ceiling height was only 7ft 6in.⁹⁹ It is nonetheless an interesting reflection on the council's more positive attitude, and suggestive that the Register was still in place, that one of MacRae's formal responsibilities was:

To report to the Town Clerk or the appropriate Committee on any proposal which may come under his notice, either by examination of the Dean of Guild Court plans or otherwise, for alterations on or demolition of any buildings in the City of antiquarian or historical interest, and particularly of buildings contained in the Corporation's Register of Historic Buildings.¹⁰⁰

CONCLUSIONS

The latter years of the 19th century and first three decades of the 20th century are of undoubted significance for the preservation movement in Edinburgh. The developments which took place over this period also provide an interesting early chapter for the origins of the formal listing process in Scotland, discussed by Walker in 1994. By 1908 Edinburgh town council had adopted a *Municipal Register of Historical Buildings* and two years later they had a notification procedure in place which was intended to provide some level of protection for buildings on the Register. The council had on occasion acquired Old Town buildings because of their historical importance, had supported others doing so, and were gradually moving away from demolition and toward adaptation. However it is also clear that the attitude to preservation at the council ebbed and flowed and the shift of public health from the council to the Scottish Board of Health in 1919 also made matters more complex. The council did not have a free hand, however, as Edinburgh's highly energetic amenity bodies closely monitored the council's activities and vociferously challenged their less sympathetic approaches.

While the preservation movement made significant progress over this period, the ten years between 1922 and 1932 saw the passing of the generation whose achievement this was. Oldrieve died in 1922, Dobie in 1926 and Lord Rosebery in 1929. Ross resigned as a Royal Commissioner in 1930 (the same year as Baldwin Brown retired as the Professor of Fine Art) and had died by the end of the year. Baldwin Brown died in the summer of 1932, outliving Geddes by just under three months. Regrettably, when the long-awaited Royal Commission volume on Edinburgh finally appeared in 1951, there was no mention of Baldwin Brown, Ross or Oldrieve in the main acknowledgements section.¹⁰¹ The present paper is intended therefore to shed some light on their efforts, together with those of Bruce Home and Councillor Dobie, to ensure that at least some domestic vernacular buildings survived Edinburgh's improvement programmes and continued to contribute to the Old Town's remarkable character and importance.

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NOTES

- 1 D.M. Walker, 'Listing in Scotland: Origins, Survey and Resurvey', *TAMS*, 38 (1994), 31-96.
- 2 D. Murray, *An Archaeological Survey of the United Kingdom* (Glasgow 1896).
- 3 See, for example, V.M. Welter, *Biopolis* (Cambridge, Mass., and London 2002); J. Johnson and L. Rosenberg, *Renewing Old Edinburgh* (Glendaruel 2010).
- 4 The Royal Scottish Academy, for example, felt that his preservation work was a distraction for a Professor of Fine Art. For more information on Baldwin Brown and his preservation activities, see Malcolm A. Cooper, 'Gerard Baldwin Brown, Edinburgh and the Care of Ancient Monuments', *The Historic Environment: Policy and Practice*, 4(2) (2013), 175-96.
- 5 Baldwin Brown was, for example, a committee member of Geddes's Edinburgh Social Union from 1888-1898 and was also closely involved in another Geddes initiative, the Franco-Scottish Society.
- 6 Ross is best known for the 5-volume study with David MacGibbon, *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland* (Edinburgh 1889-1892) and the 3-volume *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland* (Edinburgh 1896-1897). See *Dictionary of Scottish Architects*, http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=201067 (accessed 08.08.13).
- 7 Oldrieve was a pupil of Baldwin Brown's, 'winning the class medal and Cousin prize in the Architectural Section of the Fine Art Class at Edinburgh University'; see *Dictionary of Scottish Architects*, http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=200735 (accessed 08.08.13).
- 8 The architects Henry F. Kerr and Frank C. Mears were also highly active in seeking to preserve the Old Town but space precludes a detailed consideration here.
- 9 See, for example, W. Maitland, *A History of Edinburgh, from its Foundation to the Present Time* (Edinburgh 1753); H. Arnot, *The History of Edinburgh, From Earliest Accounts to the Present Time* (Edinburgh 1878).
- 10 R. Chambers, *Traditions of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh 1825), 2 vols; R. Chambers, *Walks in Edinburgh* (Edinburgh 1825); R. Chambers, *Reekiana: Minor Antiquities of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh 1833).
- 11 The paper was read before the Archaeological Institute in Edinburgh in 1856.
- 12 For example, John Britton, *Modern Athens, Displayed in a Series of Views or Edinburgh in the Nineteenth Century* (London 1829) and *Picturesque Views of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh 1825).
- 13 D. Wilson, *Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time* (Edinburgh 1848). This was originally published in serial form. A second edition was published in 1891.
- 14 The Dean of Guild had ruled that John Knox's House was in unsafe condition and in the summer of 1849 ordered it to be taken down.

- 15 *Letter to the Lord Provost on the Best Ways of Spoiling the Beauties of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh 1849).
- 16 Developed from 1760s onwards; see A.J. Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh* (Edinburgh 1966).
- 17 For an overview of Edinburgh's development, see B. Edwards and P. Jenkins (eds), *Edinburgh: The Making of a Capital City* (Edinburgh 2005) and the works cited therein.
- 18 These included controversial restoration works at St Giles.
- 19 Objectors to the removal of ancient buildings included Scott and his antiquarian friend, Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe.
- 20 See *The Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes*, vol.V, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index as to Scotland (London 1885), para.18,706. There is some evidence that the scheme architects, David Cousin and John Lessels, saw themselves following the process of 'isolément' by which important historic buildings were revealed by the clearance of surrounding buildings.
- 21 *The Scotsman*, 8 February 1878.
- 22 See P. Geddes, 'Civic Education and City Development', *The Contemporary Review*, 88 (1905) 413-26.
- 23 For a detailed description of Geddes and the 1893 scheme, see Johnson and Rosenberg *Renewing Old Edinburgh* (op.cit. in n.3).
- 24 At the opening of the Lady Stair House Museum by Lord Rosebery, attended amongst others by Baldwin Brown and Councillor Dobie, Rosebery made a gentle criticism of the level of restoration (undertaken by the architect, George Aitken); *The Scotsman*, 6 December 1913.
- 25 *The Scotsman*, 4 April 1902, letter written by 'Autochthon.'
- 26 G. Baldwin Brown, *From Schola to Cathedral* (Edinburgh 1886), sought to provide a broad history of early Christian architecture.
- 27 Baldwin Brown wanted, though, to move beyond Rickman's detailed descriptions of architectural features and to combine the architectural data with topographic, archaeological and historical information in order to allow a broader understanding of culture and society of that period. This was to lead to his 6-volume study, *The Arts in Early England* (London 1903-1937).
- 28 G. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, vol. 2: *Ecclesiastical Architecture in England from the Conversion of the Saxons to the Norman Conquest* (London 1903). His fieldwork took from 1891 until 1902. The 2nd edn (1925) was seen subsequently as the definitive work on the subject.
- 29 In *The Care of Ancient Monuments* (Cambridge 1905), for example, Baldwin Brown reviewed the history and practice of inventorization in countries including France, Italy, Holland, Germany and Austria.
- 30 G. Baldwin Brown, 'Some Characteristics of Pre-Conquest Architecture', *Jnl of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 3rd ser., 2, (1895), 485-505. The paper was delivered at the Royal Institute of British Architects' Annual General Meeting on 20 May 1895.
- 31 Baldwin Brown was strongly influenced in his approach by German art theorists and cultural historians such as J. J. Winckelmann and, in particular, Gottfried Semper. There is no doubt that Baldwin Brown's wider knowledge and enthusiasm for German culture was a strong influence on his approach to preservation in Edinburgh.
- 32 He shared this belief with other architectural historians who were exploring Scotland's architectural traditions, including the key figures of David MacGibbon and Thomas Ross. While praising some of the replacement architecture in the Old Town, the irony of replacing authentic Scottish vernacular architecture with new buildings using a Scots Baronial idiom would not have been lost on Baldwin Brown.
- 33 Baldwin Brown was, however, drawn into heated discussions over proposed restoration projects at both sites. More generally he was somewhat sceptical of the Scots' sympathy for older buildings: see, for example, G. Baldwin Brown, 'Our Ancient Monuments and their Place in Modern Life', *Saint George*, (July 1906), 185-206.
- 34 He stood for election in the St. Giles Ward in 1890 but was defeated by 267 votes. One of his proposers was Patrick Geddes.
- 35 The last of these had held their annual conference in Edinburgh in 1889. Baldwin Brown had drawn their attention to the railway proposals and a local permanent committee of the National Association was created to oppose the schemes.
- 36 Edinburgh's amenity body, created in 1875. He was to be on their council for 31 years and their convener from 1913-20.
- 37 He had been its President from 1888-90.
- 38 Although not commonly recognised, he was appointed to the Council of the National Trust in 1896,

- probably due to the influence of his boyhood friend, Hardwicke Rawnsley, and was involved with a range of other organisations in England.
- 39 G. Baldwin Brown, *The Care of Historical Cities* (Edinburgh 1904).
- 40 G. Baldwin Brown, *The Care of Ancient Monuments* (Cambridge 1905).
- 41 These included Bailie W. Fraser Dobie, who was a strong supporter of Baldwin Brown and became a key figure in the council on matters relating to Old Edinburgh preservation and the town's museums. Tellingly, Dobie succeeded Baldwin Brown as convenor of the Cockburn Association.
- 42 *The Scotsman*, 14 July 1904.
- 43 *Ibid.*
- 44 Although unattributed, their content and style allows us to identify their author with confidence.
- 45 *The Scotsman*, 17 August 1904.
- 46 *The Scotsman*, 19 August 1904.
- 47 *ibid.*
- 48 *The Times*, 1 November 1904. Baldwin Brown also published a letter in *The Times* on 27 December 1904 regarding the *Demolition of Ancient Monuments*, noting the recent appointment of a Royal Commission in Holland 'to make an inventory of all the historical and artistic monuments of the country'. His letter was prompted by the proposed demolition of one of the medieval town wall towers in Newcastle-upon-Tyne. A year previously Baldwin Brown had actively opposed proposals to demolish a stretch of the late 13th-century town wall at Berwick-upon-Tweed. He also discussed threats to early buildings in Dunfermline where the Carnegie Dunfermline Trust was reluctant to act on a report prepared by Patrick Geddes. A letter of support from Baldwin Brown's friend, Canon Hardwick Rawnsley, appeared in *The Times* on 5 January 1905.
- 49 It held an extremely popular exhibition of its work in Edinburgh, commencing on 3 December 1904. This included 359 photographs, 50 paintings and 107 engravings, prints and plans. Baldwin Brown was an enthusiastic photographer. He lectured to the Photographic Society on a range of topics and chaired at least one of their talks. He was present when the first completed portfolio of photographs was presented to the town council in 1914.
- 50 A 'bailie' was a local authority magistrate in Scotland.
- 51 Edinburgh Town Council, *Minute Books*, 29 November 1904.
- 52 *The Scotsman*, 26 January 1905.
- 53 It was no coincidence that this was highly reminiscent of that given by the Burgomaster of Hildesheim two years earlier. See *Trans of the Edinburgh Architectural Association*, 5 (1910), 49-58.
- 54 There seems little doubt that Baldwin Brown lay behind both the presentation and the proposed Advisory Committee and he continued to encourage the creation of such a committee.
- 55 *The Scotsman*, 16 February 1906.
- 56 *The Scotsman*, 14 June 1906.
- 57 Geddes was writing to Andrew Murray, who was amongst other things Secretary and Treasurer of the Cockburn Association; University of Strathclyde, Patrick Geddes Collection, T-GED 9/804.
- 58 The document was dated March 1908 and was a revision of a document produced by Home in 1902. Home was an accomplished artist of Old Edinburgh and Baldwin Brown was to write an introduction for a book of Home's drawings published in 1905/1907.
- 59 The phrases 'historic, antiquarian or architectural interest' and 'desirable to preserve' are significant for later organisations, legislation and guidance.
- 60 Edinburgh Town Council, *Minute Books*, 18 June 1908.
- 61 The key mover was the publisher and antiquarian, William Hay, who owned John Knox's House and was to publish, amongst others, Bruce Home's drawings of Old Edinburgh. Membership of the Club is a good indicator of those who were active in Edinburgh's preservation movement. Bruce Home, Baldwin Brown and Thomas Ross were all members of the first Council; Oldrieve, while not on the Council, was a founder member. Andrew Murray was one of the vice-presidents and was joined by Fraser Dobie in the Club's fourth year.
- 62 B.J. Home, 'Provisional List of Old Houses Remaining in High Street and Canongate of Edinburgh', *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, 1 (1908), 1-30.
- 63 This was repeated by the President of the Club, Lord Rosebery, at the Club's annual meeting; his speech is reported at Appendix 1, 5-11, of *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, 1 (1908).

- 64 *Edinburgh Evening News*, 29 March 1909.
- 65 He took the opportunity to defend the council's actions and to claim that Bruce Home 'had gone somewhat beyond what were the real facts'. See *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, 2 (1909), Appendix, 10-11.
- 66 Edinburgh Town Council, *Minute Book*, 20 December 1910.
- 67 Both Baldwin Brown and Councillor Dobie were Trustees. In December 1910, Baldwin Brown wrote to *The Times* as part of a fund-raising campaign. This was at a time when the Cockburn Association was close to collapse and proposals for its replacement by a National Trust organisation in Scotland were well advanced. Both Hardwick Rawnsley and Sir Robert Hunter appeared at a public meeting in Edinburgh with Baldwin Brown to provide support for the proposed new organisation, but the new Trust was not to progress at this time; *The Scotsman*, 27 October 1908.
- 68 As a result of the disruption of the First World War, the proposed use ultimately failed and it was subsequently turned over to residential usage.
- 69 In response to a proposal by Dobie in 1911, the town council contributed towards the purchase of Moubray House from its Common Good fund.
- 70 While the council had the services of its own architect and burgh engineer, these were understandably sympathetic to the broader health and improvement agenda and clearly lacked internal support for a less invasive approach.
- 71 Dobie's strategy was to argue that a group of expert advisors working formally with the council, and therefore with a greater understanding of their work, was preferable to the same group working against the council from the outside.
- 72 Edinburgh Town Council, *Minute Book*, 2 May 1911. The council's discussions were reported in *The Scotsman*, 3 May 1911.
- 73 The Scottish Secretary, Lord Pentland, had a copy of the 1905 book and met with Baldwin Brown to discuss his proposals for a national inventory organisation. The first meeting of the Scottish Commission was on 26 February 1908.
- 74 The Commissioners also included Sir Herbert Maxwell as Chairman, Lord Guthrie, Dr H. Bryce and F. C. Buchanan. However, it was the other three Commissioners, Baldwin Brown, Thomas Ross and William Oldrieve, who were particularly active, undertaking a range of casework.
- 75 19 October 1908.
- 76 RCAHMS *Minute Book*, 15 March 1909. Curle wrote to the councils on 7 April 1909 and also sought the permission of Edinburgh's Town Clerk to circulate copies of the Edinburgh list to the councils as an exemplar.
- 77 RCAHMS, *Letter Book*, 1919/30. Dobie responded that the Commission's request had been remitted to one of the council's committees. Interestingly, he asked Curle specifically to send him a copy of the Corporation of Glasgow's inventory (as an experienced municipal politician he no doubt felt that sight of the Glasgow inventory would encourage further progress in Edinburgh!).
- 78 RCAHMS, *Minute Book*, 23 November 1910.
- 79 David MacGibbon's son.
- 80 RCAHMS, *Letter Book*, 1910/103, 29 November 1910.
- 81 RCAHMS, *Letter Book*, 1911/16, 9 February 1911.
- 82 RCAHMS, *Minute Book*, 8 March 1911.
- 83 The Commission's Chairman, Lord Guthrie, pointed out that progress was still faster than achieved by the Welsh and English Commissions and indicated his intention to resign should matters not be resolved.
- 84 The bodies invited were: the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, the Cockburn Association, the Old Edinburgh Club, the Edinburgh Architectural Association, the Edinburgh Photographic Society, the Outlook Tower and Edinburgh town council. Baldwin Brown was closely involved in each of these organisations.
- 85 In September 1911 M. Headrick at the Commission sent Baldwin Brown drafts of two 'schedules' or forms that were intended to be used to gather the information. The first was to be used for 'old houses' and the second for monuments and memorials other than buildings; RCAHMS, *Letter Book*, 1911/113, 22 September 1911.
- 86 Minutes of the Plans and Works Committee, 26 October 1911.
- 87 There is a reference in a letter from the Commission to the Under-Secretary for Scotland in November 1912, noting that 'The Inventory of ancient monuments in the City of Edinburgh is being undertaken

- by one of the Commissioners'; RCAHMS, *Letter Book*, 1912/160, 22 November 1912. This seems most likely to be a reference to Baldwin Brown, although it is clear that Thomas Ross, William Oldrieve and Baldwin Brown all continued to work together on Old Edinburgh. In 1916 the work of the Commission was suspended due to the War and the staff redeployed.
- 88 There is something of an irony here in that there is evidence to suggest that in bringing forward the 1913 Ancient Monuments Consolidation and Amendment Act – which brought the Ancient Monuments Boards into being – Charles Peers and Schomberg McDonnell took careful steps to ensure that occupied domestic buildings were excluded from the legislation. The resulting lack of locus allowed the town council in Edinburgh to ignore the advice of the Ministry of Works and the Ancient Monuments Board with regard to the Grassmarket proposals.
- 89 Ancient Monuments Board for Scotland, *Minute Book*, 29 April 1919. They continued to involve themselves in Old Edinburgh with periodic meetings with the town council, and the Town Clerk was instructed to seek the Board's approval of their proposals for 74-82 Grassmarket and Candlemaker Row; see Housing and Planning Committee Minutes, 15 June 1925.
- 90 Edinburgh Town Council, *Minute Book*, 15 June 1921.
- 91 The town council discussions refer to the Old Edinburgh Club and the Cockburn Association's Memorial but also mentions a statement by Baldwin Brown; *The Scotsman*, 15 January 1920. By the 1923 General Meeting of the Club, the Lord Provost was able to report that the council were seeking to preserve the external appearance of the old buildings with which they were dealing.
- 92 Patrick Geddes's son-in-law, Frank Mears, was also closely involved in this process. He was by then on the Council of the Cockburn Association alongside Baldwin Brown and Ross. It was under the convenorship of Fraser Dobie at that time. For a copy of the memorial and list, see *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, 11 (1922), Appendix, 5-7.
- 93 They also suggested subsequently that the Corporation should obtain the benefit of the advice and assistance of citizens with expert or other special qualifications and experience in connection with a regional survey of the city, town planning, and city development generally, and with a view to this an Advisory Committee should be formed; Edinburgh City Council, *Minute Book*, 1 February 1923.
- 94 Cockburn Association, *Minute Book*, 4 December 1922.
- 95 The Tailors' Hall, Cowgate, *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, 11 (1922), 125-72. The third author, Forbes Gray, was also an Old Edinburgh Club member. Ross and Baldwin Brown had previously written an article on the Magdalen Chapel, also situated on the Cowgate, in *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, 8 (1915), 1-78. Both articles were intended to be included in the Royal Commission survey of Edinburgh.
- 96 A.L. MacGibbon had died by then and was succeeded by George P.H. Watson. The Commission's records suggest that Watson gathered information from a number of building owners over this period.
- 97 Not all were convinced. During the council's discussion of the repair costs, Councillor Baxter stated his strong disapproval of the proposed works: 'this was pure sentiment. He had never seen a house in the Canongate worth preserving for any reason whatever'; *The Scotsman*, 12 October 1923.
- 98 See *Dictionary of Scottish Architects*, http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=200699 (accessed 08.08.13). Macrae studied under Baldwin Brown in 1901-02.
- 99 There is an entry in the Ancient Monuments Board for Scotland *Minute Book* for 24 May 1929 which records that the council 'on various pretexts' declined to put into effect the recommendations of the Ministry of Works regarding 74-82 Grassmarket. For a broader, and overly positive, assessment of this building reconstruction and other cases, see Robert Hurd, 'Clearing the Slums of Edinburgh', *The Architect's Jnl* (26 March 1930), 491-94 and (2 April 1930), 542-45. Baldwin Brown raised his concerns over the council's regulations on ceiling heights at the Royal Commissioners' meeting on 8 January 1929.
- 100 Job description, Edinburgh City Council, *Minute Book*, 5 March 1925.
- 101 RCAHMS, *An Inventory of the Ancient and Historical Monuments of the City of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh 1951). The discussion on the rediscovery of David's Tower on page 15 mentions that: 'In 1912 Professor Baldwin Brown, Dr. Thomas Ross and Mr Oldrieve, three members of this Commission to whom had been delegated the survey of the historical buildings of Edinburgh ...'. Ross and Baldwin Brown's work on the Tailors' Hall and Magdalen Chapel was also identified within the specific building entries.

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